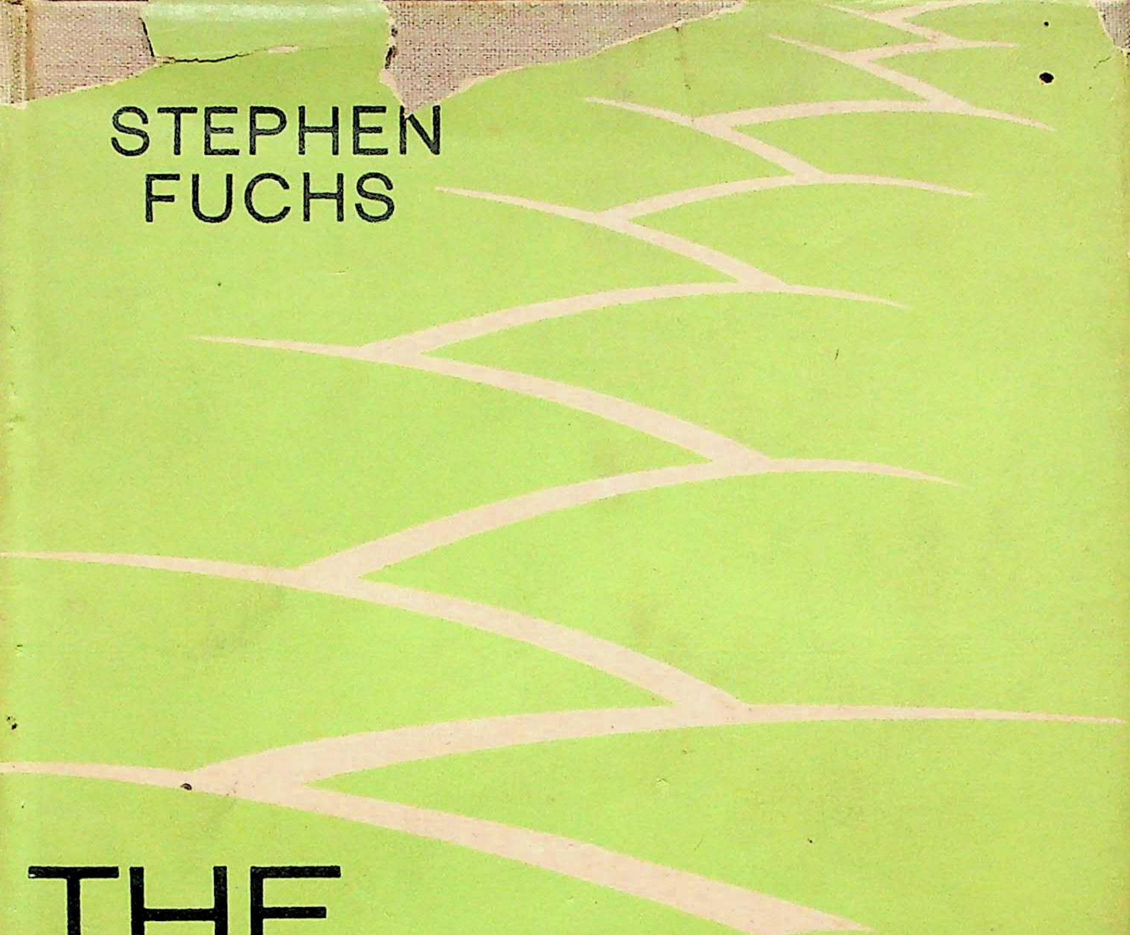
STEPHEN
FUCHS



THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND HIS CULTURE

The Origin of

MAN AND HIS CULTURE

STEPHEN FUCHS

The unique contribution of this textbook on the physical origin of man and about the origin of human culture is its insistence that (cultural) anthropology is a historical science and must be treated as such. While the functional, sociological and psychological methods of dealing with the vast amount of anthropological data are not ignored or rejected, in this book the emphasis is laid upon the historical sequence of the cultural (and racial) phenomena.

Unlike most of the other textbooks on anthropology so far in use in India, which draw their examples almost exclusively from American and African fields, *The Origin of Man and his Culture* presents the abundance of anthropological data available in India. A special chapter rarely found in textbooks on anthropology, deals with the origin of human art, not only with primitive painting and sculpture, but also with primitive poetry, primitive dramatic art, primitive dancing and primitive music.

This book also endeavours to explore the original sources of Hindu culture and to venture, in this exploration, beyond the self-imposed limits of study of the Indologists.

Above all, the lucid exposition and narration by the author not only makes for an easy and systematic assimilation of the subject-matter by the student of anthropology, but also helps him to understand the subject in the context of the Indian background.

Rs. 12.50

OW

S.D

573.2

State Museum Library
* Lucknow *

THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND HIS CULTURE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

The Children of Hari
Social Origins
The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla
Tales of Gondavana

The Origin of

MAN AND HIS CULTURE

Stephen Fuchs

State Museum, Library
1854
20.3.64

ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
BOMBAY . CALCUTTA . NEW DELHI . MADRAS
LUCKNOW . LONDON . NEW YORK

© 1963, STEPHEN FUCHS

PRINTED IN INDIA
BY J.M. D'SOUZA AT THE NATIONAL PRINTING WORKS
(THE TIMES OF INDIA PRESS), DELHI, AND PUBLISHED
BY P.S. JAYASINGHE, ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, BOMBAY

PREFACE

THIS book is intended to serve as a general textbook of anthropology, both physical and cultural, for students in India. There is a definite need for such a book, as most textbooks of anthropology so far in use in India draw their examples almost exclusively from American and African fields, and ignore the abundance of anthropological data available in India. The use of these foreign handbooks has the obvious result that Indian students of anthropology become more familiar with the peoples and cultures of America, Africa and the Pacific, while they remain ignorant of the races and cultures in their own country.

In order to bring the relevant Indian data into stronger relief, they are in this book presented in special chapters which are inserted after the general treatment of each specific section of the subject-matter. If these chapters are often rather sketchy, they are unavoidably so, because the Indian material has either not been treated previously in a systematic and comprehensive study, or because the limited space available does not permit a more generous treatment of the vast and complicated material.

This book admittedly differs from other textbooks in the presentation of its subject-matter. It is based on the supposition that (cultural) anthropology is a historical science and must be treated as such. While the functional, sociological and psychological methods of dealing with the vast amount of anthropological data are not ignored or rejected, in this book the emphasis is laid on the historical sequence of the cultural (and racial) phenomena, as far as this sequence can be traced. This insistence on the historical aspect in the development of the human races and cultures brings order and system into the confusing abundance of anthropological data. It allows, above all, the classification of the primitive cultures into four—in their origin, historically subsequent—human groups: the foodgatherers, the advanced hunters, the primitive cultivators and the nomadic animal-breeders.

The author believes that this classification is justified by the prehistorically observed fact that each of these groups came into existence due to a specific epochal invention or cultural revolution. These prehistoric inventions were for the progress of human culture equally important as, for instance, the invention of printing, of the steam engine and of the atom bomb in later historical times.

This book also endeavours, especially in the concluding chapters, to explore the orginal sources of Hindu culture and to venture, in this exploration, beyond the self-imposed limits of study of the Indologists.

Another chapter, rarely found in textbooks of anthropology, deals with the origin of human art, not only with painting and sculpture, but also with poetry, dramatic art, dancing and music.

In this book footnotes and references are kept at a minimum. Students of anthropology can easily find them in the books mentioned in the bibliography, while the general reader will find them superfluous. This book contains no new and unproved theories though it tries to be uptodate. Where controversial opinions had to be given, they are clearly indicated as such.

The author is indebted to Dr K. Klostermaier (Vrindaban) for valuable suggestions, for the correction of the final proofs and for the compilation of the index.

May this book be able to serve the earnest students of anthropology in their studies, and at the same time help also those who seek ready and reliable information about anthropological problems, but have no time to read bulky volumes full of bewildering controversies and confusing theories.

Vienna, December 1962

STEPHEN FUCHS

CONTENTS

I Anthropology, Its Definition and Scope 1
II The Evolution of Man 11
III The Human Race in Its Development from the Earliest Times 22
IV Contemporary Human Races 40
V Prehistoric and Primitive Races in India 47
VI Prehistoric Man, a Full-fledged Human Being 60
VII Prehistoric Man and Living Primitive Races 73
VIII The Primitive Family 94
IX Kinship Institutions 115
X Family and Kinship Systems in India 127
XI Associations and Classes 144
XII The Indian Caste System 156
XIII Political Institutions 165
XIV Law and Justice 177
XV Property Concepts 186
XVI Art 204
XVII Concept and Origin of Religion 218
XVIII Other Theories concerning the Origin of Religion 226
XIX The Religion of the Primitives 238
XX The Religion of Primitive India 251
XXI The Cultural Foundations of Hinduism 268
Epilogue 276
Bibliography 281
Index 285

CHAPTER I

ANTHROPOLOGY, ITS DEFINITION AND SCOPE

1. *Definition*

ANTHROPOLOGY can be defined as the science of man, both as a physical and cultural being. It deals with the physical and cultural development of mankind: with man's origin and earliest appearance, with the differentiations of the human forms and races, with the origin and development of the cultural forms created by man.

2. *Division*

Anthropology is divided into Physical and Cultural Anthropology. In North America (U.S.A.) Prehistory, Archaeology, Linguistics and Folklore are also considered sections of Anthropology. In Europe these latter sciences are regarded as auxiliary sciences.

3. *The Nature of the Anthropological Sciences*

Most European anthropologists consider Physical Anthropology a section of the Natural Sciences because it concerns itself with the physical and biological side of man. In his physical and biological aspects, man is part of the animal kingdom and subject to the laws and mechanisms that control the animals, in particular the mammals and among them the primates.

But Cultural Anthropology is for them a part of the humanities, more precisely—a historical science. According to A.E. Kroeber and many other American anthropologists, however, as also the Marxists among the European anthropologists, Anthropology is "the science of the nature of man." And they claim that man's culture too must be considered "as something entirely a part of nature, wholly an evolutionary development within nature" (Kroeber). Especially in dialectical materialism any qualitative difference between man and the animal is denied. Anthropology is consequently for these anthropologists a "purely natural science," and man's nature, including his culture, is "to be investigated by the methods of fundamental natural science." These scholars naturally admit that the factors which control human behaviour are not (as yet!) amenable to the laws of physics and chemistry; for the time being, they have to rely on the less precise, but by no means less important, principles to be derived from the world of living organisms. Thus the link between the humanities and science lies in biology (J. Gray). Some of them even grant the significance of the historical dimension, but they prefer to stress the limits of choice and alternatives open against randomness or the freedom of the human will.

4. *Physical Anthropology*

Physical Anthropology is sub-divided into several sections. One of these is Somatology. It studies the physical structure of man and investigates the human types and races with the aim of discovering how they came to be what they are. The procedure is to observe the living material, to measure the human body and skeleton. The science of measuring the human body is called Anthropometry. The techniques of all such observations and measurements have been largely standardized, some textbooks recording over 5,000 of them. Such measurements and observations involve the hair, the eye, the skin, the very important head measurements, also the height of the body, its proportions to the limbs, the forms of hand and foot and certain peculiarities. Important is also the proportionate distribution of the blood groups, and of the tasters or non-tasters of phenyl-thio-carbamide.

In addition, Physical Anthropology studies the problems associated with physical changes, the effects of food, environment and mode of life on racial and physical characteristics. Finally, it considers also all the various phenomena of race mixtures.

5. *Cultural Anthropology*

In Europe (except England) Cultural Anthropology is often called Ethnology or Ethnography. The term "Anthropology" is only used to denote Physical Anthropology. In English-speaking countries (England, USA, Australia, etc.) the term "Anthropology" includes both Physical and Cultural Anthropology, while for the latter the term Ethnology is rarely used. Ethnography is now commonly understood to mean a purely descriptive study of human culture.

Against the spokesmen of cultural determinism we maintain that Cultural Anthropology is a historical science; its research, therefore, must be conducted in accordance with the methods and rules of the historical sciences. If, as R. Boltmann defines, history is "the course of human actions and reactions, human works and consequences, the events and situations brought about by all this,"[1] Cultural Anthropology can do no more than record and study these human actions and reactions, human works and their consequences in so far as they create and change human culture. It cannot, in the manner of the natural sciences, work out and put up generally valid laws and principles which determine the course of all cultural development; for the development of culture is, at least to some part, dependent on man's free will and creativeness (which includes his desires, caprices, vices, knowledge and ignorance!), and not exclusively on man's animal nature and environment. This implies that man is as much the creator of culture as its product and carrier. Man, when he created a cultural form, reacted in a certain manner; but he need not have reacted in that manner. Man is certainly, on the one hand, the child of a particular age, society, convention; of what we may call in one word a tradition. But he may also be, on the other hand, a rebel against this tradition. This possibility refutes culture determinism. Consequently, the anthropologists, like the historians, can only formulate generalizations of limited validity.

---

[1] R. Boltman, "The Quest for Meaning in History," *The Listener* (London, September 1, 1955), p. 329

Anthropologists are not in full agreement about the subject-matter of Cultural Anthropology. In Europe—except England—Cultural Anthropology is restricted to the cultural manifestations of so-called "primitive man."[2] In English-speaking countries, however, Cultural Anthropology studies man at all, even the highest, levels of culture.

A great divergence of views exists in the definition of culture. The term "culture" is used by many to convey various meanings. It may mean, for instance, social charm and intellectual excellence, or it may signify the moral, spiritual and intellectual attainments of man (*cf.* MacIver); also the self-cultivation of human nature and the cultivation of the natural, geographical environment (Bidney). According to W. Schmidt, culture is the inner formation of the human mind. It is therefore immanent while only its external manifestations are observable. What the Culture-Determinists define as culture is only the external manifestation of that inner formation of the mind. The mind is formed by the traditions peculiar to a specific social or racial group. These traditions are handed on to the individual members of the same group from the older generation which, again, received them from the generation preceding it.

E. Tylor defines culture as the sum-total of the beliefs, ideas, customs, laws, morals, arts and other capabilities and skills acquired by man as a member of society. B. Malinowski defines culture as the total way of life and the instruments, mental, social and material, of which this way is constituted. Again Bidney defines culture as the product of agrofacts, artifacts, socifacts and mentifacts. Culture, in this latter sense, is a thing which exists. It is defined in the sense of the external manifestations of that "inner formation of the mind" of which W. Schmidt writes. Nearer to his definition of culture are those of R.R. Marrett who defines culture as "communicable intelligence," or Redfield, who declares that culture is the "sum total of conventional meanings embodied in artifacts, social structure and symbols." Krause defines culture as "the functional interplay of human customs, usages and institutions."

---

[2] A people or social group is called primitive if its economy is little developed, its social and political organization simple and uncomplicated and its spiritual culture (art, religion) less evolved. Usually a primitive social group is small in numbers. With a few exceptions primitives are pre-literate.

All these various definitions boil down to two different aspects of culture, one immanent, the other its external manifestation. Thus we may define Culture either with W. Schmidt as the inner formation of the human mind, or as the sum total of man's ideas, customs and habits, and more explicitly, as the totality of mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behaviour of the individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other individuals of the same group, to other groups, to the world of the mind and to the supernatural world.

Culture has consequently a threefold function: it serves to adapt man to his natural environment, the individual to his fellow men and, thirdly, man to the world of the mind and to the supernatural world.

Culture is a specificum of man. The animals have no culture. Even though animals may have a mode of life and perform activities parallel to man, still a sharp line separates man from the animals. Man's behaviour is much more variable; he has transformed the world and himself in the comparatively brief span of his existence. The animals scarcely ever change their habits of life or, if they do, it is over vast periods of time; bees build their hives and birds their nests as they did aeons before. Further, the behaviour of the animals is instinctive, while that of man is largely acquired. Man learns from experience and can apply the experience gained to the solution of problems slightly different in nature, while animal behaviour is controlled by "blind instinct," that innate tendency to certain stereotyped reactions that occur in response to appropriate stimuli, whether external or internal. Each generation inherits "an automatic nervous mechanism that may be compared with an elaborate piece of clockwork wound up and ready to perform its destined movements as soon as a spring is released."[3] Moreover, the animals have no retrospective reasoning in regard to actions. Their actions are purposeful, but they are not aware of the law of causality. Causal reasoning is only found in man. Finally, it is generally admitted that only man has an ethical evaluation and religion; only man can create and enjoy art; man alone has speech; in short, man alone has culture.

---

[3] H. Bastin, *Insect Communities*.

Cultural Anthropology, consequently, studies first th means and methods by which man reacts to his natural environment; it deals with his means of acquiring food (through collecting, hunting, tilling the soil and planting, domesticating and breeding animals, etc.); with the implements for it, tools (digging stick, hoe, plough, harrow, etc.), weapons (bow and arrows, club, spear, axe, knife, boomerang, trap, etc.), cooking utensils, methods and tools for making fire, husbandry (domestication of animals, use of meat, blood, milk, skin, bones, etc.), the means for transportation, etc.

Cultural Anthropology studies further man's reactions to his social group, his social institutions, as the family, the kinship group, sibs and clans, political institutions; it considers the position of man, woman and child in these institutions; the customs of birth, mating, death and funeral; property rights and inheritance, and in general all laws and customs of private and social life.

It also studies man's creative and artistic activities and their products, his ornaments, masks, carvings and sculptures, his paintings and drawings, his music and dancing, his storytelling, his myths and legends, poems and riddles.

It studies finally man's beliefs about a transcendent world, his beliefs in the existence of superhuman powers and beings: the Supreme Being, the lower deities, ghosts and spirits, demons and goblins, the soul, a life after death, etc.; it analyses his general world outlook and philosophy; his moral concepts; further, the ceremonies and customs resulting from these beliefs, the rites of worship, magical practices, funeral rites, etc.

6. *Prehistory, Archaeology and other Sciences*

Prehistory studies extinct peoples and cultures and the past phases of living peoples by materials obtained through excavation. It concentrates mainly on pre-literate peoples and cultures, while Archaeology studies those extinct cultures which already possessed a script. The picture of early man presented by Prehistory and Archaeology is far from complete, for all perishable material is lost unless preserved by a rare and happy incident. And also the articles of durable material are often damaged. Our source of information is often nothing but a refuse heap, the so-called *kitchen-middens.*

Prehistory and Archaeology aim at the classification and arrangement of the excavated material in an intelligible and valid order. This is aided by Stratigraphy, the fact that one layer of culture is found on top of the other; thus the relative age of a culture can be ascertained. At some places we find so-called "type-fossils," characteristic traits belonging to a certain culture. A sufficiently large number of such type-fossils found in a certain layer form a "complex." Such a complex gives proof of the presence of a certain culture in time and place. When changes occur in the stratigraphic record they provide clues about possible contact with other cultures and migration of peoples.

The methods of dating by stratification, association and typology provide only relative data, i.e. they tell us which culture is earlier and which later, but they do not give us the absolute age of a culture. Absolute dating is nowadays achieved by dendrochronology, by chemical analysis of the amount of fluorine in fossilised bones, by pollen grain analysis and by radioactive decay.

The radio-carbon method is the most promising modern approach to dating the past. It was invented by the American W.F. Libby. It is based on the fact that all living organisms contain the same proportion of carbon 14 (atomic weight of 14 instead of carbon's 12). After death, all organic materials lose their carbon 14 at the same rate. Half disappears in 5,568 years, a half life. Three-fourths dissipate in two half lives, and so on. Radioactivity at any point, compared to radioactivity of modern carbon, tells the amount of time elapsed since death. It is exact up to about 60,000 years.

Dendrochronology is possible because there is a connection between the growth of a tree and the rings observable in the cross section of its trunk. During the growing season most trees lay down large, thin-walled cells in the growth layer under the bark. As growth slows, small, thick-walled cells are added; they form a dark ring that marks the end of the year's growth. In many cases it is possible to count these rings and to tell how many years ago the tree sprouted. The oldest known trees, bristle-cone pines, are more than 4,000 years old.

Closely connected with Prehistory is Palaeontology, which makes a detailed investigation of fossil races with their collateral lines and attempts to delineate possible series of evolution of the human body from these fossil forms to modern forms.

Besides Prehistory and Archaeology, there are other auxiliary sciences like Social Anthropology, Linguistics and Folklore. Social Anthropology—in England a branch of Sociology—is often called Functionalism. Its aim is to study cultural processes in particular social groups and to compare different societies in operation. The purpose of such studies rests on the conviction that standard ways of doing things or general laws of society can thus be detected. With the aid of these the Functionalists hope to be able to predict the future development of human society.

Linguistics is the study of human speech and of the dead and living languages of the world. All human groups have language and by means of language are able to pass on their culture (or cultural inheritance) to the next generation. Linguistics is a highly specialized branch of Anthropology. Languages are analysed, classified and compared. This enables the linguist to find out which languages are related and even to trace the history of certain languages wherever documentary evidence for the past stages of these languages is available. Language may thus shed much light into the obscure dark of a people's past. The linguist, however, must beware lest he presumes too much on the basis of linguistic evidence.

Folklore is the science which deals with the survivals of archaic beliefs and customs in civilised peoples. It embraces everything relating to ancient observances and customs, to the notions, beliefs, traditions, superstitions and prejudices of the common people. But also folk-tales, songs, legends, myths, proverbs, riddles, folk-music and folk-dance as well as folk-drama belong into the sphere of Folklore.

A comparatively recent branch of Anthropology is Applied Anthropology. It selects and uses the relevant data from anthropological research for dealing with the economic, social and political problems arising from the clash between primitive and civilised groups in a country.

Anthropologists consult also other sciences whenever necessary or useful. They receive particular help from Psychology. This science shows that the primitive has no other ways of thinking nor is their intelligence sub-normal (as Lévy-Bruhl at one time maintained; he called it pre-logic thinking). The general laws of Psychology are valid also for primitive peoples. Psychoanalysis seems to be particularly useful for the study of myths and legends, of religion and magic. It appears that the archetypes of C. Jung can be detected in primitive mentality.

Other sciences like history, botany, zoology, geology and especially geography, help the anthropologist to solve his problems. The anthropologist, to be a true scientist, must not neglect any of these auxiliary sciences. It would deprive him of many useful clues were he to concentrate on his own particular section of anthropology with the exclusion of allied sciences. All must be utilized with a certain balanced harmony.

7. *The Object and Aim of Anthropology*

Anthropology provides, at least to a certain extent, an insight into the history of mankind before the age of writing and archaeological evidence. Man came into existence, as prehistorians claim, more than 600,000 years ago, while history covers scarcely more than 6,000 years. Prehistory provides information of the physical development of the human races, and of man's material culture; but its finds can be interpreted and complemented by Cultural Anthropology in the light of the living primitive peoples who have preserved ancient customs and ways of living. Conclusions from the social life and religious beliefs of the primitive races of today are legitimate to similarly placed prehistoric peoples.

This is also true of India. In India chronological history begins from about 650 B.C., while the earliest certain historical date is only 326 B.C., the year of the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. The history of Aryan India is fairly well known, but our information about Dravidian India, the India of the low castes and untouchables, and of the aboriginal tribes is extremely scanty. It is again Anthropology which can fill many gaps in the ancient history and prehistory of India through the application of its peculiar methods of research.

Anthropology also helps people to know and treat with tolerance the beliefs, customs and habits of their fellowmen in other parts of the world. This is particularly important in India, a subcontinent with so many races and with peoples of so greatly varied cultural standards. All must understand and treat each other with sympathy and tolerance. Anything that could offend others must be avoided.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF MAN

1. *Evolution in General*

In his famous work *Systema Naturae* (1735) the Swedish naturalist C. Linnaeus had codified and standardized all plants and animals, including man, on the basis of morphological homologues. But it was left to Charles Darwin to discover in evolution the cause for the existence of these morphological conformities. Plants, as also animals, have a similar morphological structure, because they have evolved from one another. Thus the concept of evolution provides the existential foundation for the general classification and systematization of all plants and animals.

Organic evolution, which alone concerns us here, entails in its purest form "the belief that all organisms living and dead are ultimately descended from the traceable back to an extremely simple primitive type of living things which in itself sprang from or arose out of inanimate matter."

Thus in the domain of natural science organic evolution could be defined as the genetic inner development of a form of being stimulated by external agencies. In the theory of evolution it is essential that the forms evolving from one another retain something in common. In short, evolution is descent with modification (Darwin).

This concept of evolution postulates unity of structure and of functioning, whether it be on a microscopic or macroscopic scale, that is, whether the beings in question are made up of identical components or built on an identical plan.

Even where morphology is unable to reveal any trace of parenthood, embryology—the science of the process of development from the ovum to the adult animal—often shows undeniable links of parenthood that disappear in the adult. Besides identity of development, embryology reveals also a unity of organization.

But the most spectacular argument for evolution is provided by palaeontology, the science of the fossil forms of plants, animals and man.

As is well known, the theory of evolution in this sense was first worked out by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in 1859. Initially it gave rise to fierce controversies. If Darwin's theory could have been confined to brute creation, it might at once have proved acceptable; but the equating of man and the ape as the descendants of a common stock proved revolting to mid-Victorian England. Nevertheless, by Darwin's death in 1882, most of the scientists at least had been won over, and at the turn of the century the biologists were teaching it as an infallible doctrine.

In course of time the term "evolution" has acquired several divergent meanings and it is no more restricted to "organic evolution." Many scientists hold that cosmic, biological and human evolution can be regarded as phases in a continuous natural process; to pass from a primeval nebula to a modern man without any sudden break in continuity of thought gives them a feeling of intellectual tidiness. In the opinion of others, who go even further, "evolution" means that all things, God and the material universe, spirit and matter, are made of the same stuff and consequently everything is equally material and equally divine. In this extreme form the theory of evolution is monistic and pantheistic. It implies that evolution explains "the origin of all things," that is, that life, plants, animals and men, intellect, free will, individual responsibility and self-awareness, religion, morality, truth, beauty, etc. are all ultimately explainable in terms of evolution alone. Such a theory would deny the stability and permanence of everything, hold that universal ideals, moral standards and obligations are all constantly changing. This theory ultimately leads to absolute relativism. Naturally, the theory of evolution taken in this wide sense is a philosophical problem, a matter of one's world outlook, *weltanschauung*.

We are here concerned only with evolution in the domain of the natural sciences, with organic evolution in particular.

The number of instances where an evolutionary step in plant or animal life can be considered as definitely proved is limited. It is only within the closely related groups known as "families," "genera" (wolf-dog) and "species" that the palaeontological evidence is, in specific cases (that of the horse, for instance), so great as to be justifiably called scientific proof. Even here the descent of one organic form from another has not been actually observed, but it is legitimately inferred, as are most of the reliable data of history. Within the next bigger divisions ("classes," like fish—amphibia, and "orders," like primates) wherein resemblances are no more so close, the existence of real proof for evolution is problematical. Some scientists would claim sufficient evidence as a fact of evolution even within the next higher group, the "phylum" of the vertebrates, but the controversies among scientists themselves show plainly that this claim is still disputed. As regards the highest groups (types), the fact of evolution from one type to another is purely hypothetical, for all factual evidence is absent.

With regard to the mechanisms of evolution the majority of the scientists are divided into two main schools: the Neo-Darwinian and the Neo-Lamarckian.

(*a*) The Neo-Darwinian School attempts to explain all evolutionary changes by "natural selection." Every organism possesses a number of different measurable qualities. Of these 66 per cent on an average are normal, 17 per cent super-normal and 17 per cent sub-normal. In the struggle for existence, the possessors of the most advantageous qualities in a given environment survive—"survival of the fittest."[1]

(*b*) The Neo-Lamarckian School explains evolutionary changes by external factors, such as the parents' adaptation to the environment which is then inherited genetically—"The function creates the organ."[2]

Both theories have their weaknesses.

Against the view that natural selection is the principal cause of evolution speak various difficulties. "For example, there is the difficulty of ascribing selective value of characters in an early stage of evolution before they become fully functional (what are called incipient characters); there is the point that the competition on which, by definition, selection must depend, is competition between individuals and not between species, and is therefore something of a quite different potential from anything required for the origin of species; there is the lack of any good evidence for the widespread elimination of the less fit that the hypothesis requires. Above all there is the very reasonable and—dare I say?—self-evident statement that no amount of selection alone can *initiate* novelty; and it is the origin of novelty, in the sense of the periodic appearance of conditions which have never before occurred, that must have been the fundamental theme of the evolutionary story. Such objections as these have never been met, though they have become blanketed in varying degrees by circumstances."[3]

---

[1] In one period of palaeontology the Saurians, giant reptiles, increased rapidly in numbers. But later their extreme growth of bulk made them unfit for survival and they died out.

[2] This, they claim, explains the long neck of the giraffe.

Against the Lamarckian hypothesis is the fact that the inheritance of acquired characters has been observed only within very narrow limits. On the other hand, certain differentiations in animal forms—and even in human races—cannot be explained well except by the assumption of the inheritance of acquired characters and adaptation to the environment. Thus we see in the human species that the Eskimo is well adapted to a cold climate, while the Negro with his dark skin and his long limbs is better adapted to a tropical climate. It it not so that the Eskimo moved into the arctic because he could stand the cold better, and the Negro moved into the tropical countries because he fitted better into a hot climate. The adaptation took place almost certainly in their respective habitats, either through the acquisition of new inheritable characters or as a result of natural selection.

On the other hand, it is almost impossible to direct deliberately the acquisition of such inheritable characters. White people, for instance, are still born white even after living several generations in tropical countries. In the Karenni States in Burma along the Thailand frontier live the Padaungs, a curious people whose women are famous for their "brass-necks." They wear coils of shining brass spirals which stretch their necks until they resemble champagner bottles. Though this custom is many generations old, all girls are born with normal necks.

---

[3] R. Good, "Natural Selection Re-examined," *The Listener* (May 7, 1959), pp. 797-9.

The inherited transformation of certain organs is said to take place by mutation. Mutation is the abrupt modification of the inheritable patrimony, therefore an internal factor leading to the appearance of new characters. In experiments of 50,000 generations of the fly Drosophila about 800 mutations have been observed, most of them bearing one limited character only. The chain of factors that leads from the genetic mutation to the changes with phenomenal appearance is complex and completely known only in very few cases.

Those who hold the theory of natural selection agree that most bodily characteristics, such as height in man, are not controlled by mutation in a single gene, but by a large number of the genes of the genotype. Each of these genes is inherited according to the laws laid down by Mendel, and the effect of each is all-or-one, but this aspect of their effects is obscured since they all act on the same character and their effects overlap. In other words, selection is exerted on the organism's body, not directly on the hereditary material, the genotype; it is the characters as expressed in the body that come directly under the influence of selection, and in discussing selection we must consider its effect on them. It should also be noted that by far most mutations lead to defects in the hereditary mechanism, and not to improvement of the genotype.

Some biologists and Palaeontologists, like Teilhard de Chardin, for instance, maintain that transformation is ruled by what they call "orthogenesis:" it leads "the evolution of organisms systematically in definite directions and not accidentally in many directions." It is thus not haphazard, but it is in some way directed. The Greek philosophers, though ignorant of evolution, were the first to assert a hierarchical order of all living beings, man topping them all. This theory was accepted generally in the West and, when the theory of evolution became dominant, it was interpreted in a orthogenetic sense. But already M. de Montaigne, the famous French sceptic, pointed out the fact that man is rather "a deficient organism." In fact, modern anthropologists agree with him and hold that man can only survive in the struggle for life through his superior intelligence and by his use of artificial means of mastering his environment. He can make his environment for himself so that he can live in hot, cold, wet and dry regions of the world at will.

Today the extreme evolutionists who believe in a straight, progressive advance in the evolution of living beings culminating in man, are in a minority; generally biologists hold that the process of evolution of all living organisms has occurred by the action of natural selection working upon the results of random mutations in the genes, and that the inheritance of characters acquired during the life-time of an individual does not take place. Recent work on genetic assimilation, however, has thrown some doubt on the concept that the environment can never produce in an individual inheritable characters, but it has in no way superseded the basic idea that random mutations in the genes provide the main opportunity for evolution to take place.

There are still gaps in the theory of evolution. Knowledge of the extent of close inbreeding in animal populations, for instance, is still very slight. The theory pays too little attention to the active nature of organisms and so neglects their power of choosing their environments and to some extent controlling their evolutions. Cooperation within the species and between different species needs more study. Another problem concerns the existence of the gregarious habit. The distribution of this habit among vertebrate animals is curiously unrelated to their evolutionary history. It is well marked in certain species of fish, birds and mammals, but absent in others. These are gaps, but they are gaps in a theory which has stood the close scrutiny of a hundred years and is now incontestably established.

In spite of certain definite weaknesses, the theory of evolution is no doubt a valid working hypothesis, even in its purest form, provided that scientists remain in the field of science. Wisely, the scientists today are either abandoning the absolute materialistic and mechanistic philosophical suppositions once so much part of this theory, or at least regard them as beyond the scope of science.

Certainly the hypothesis of evolution does work. It has brought order, consistency and a reasonable explanation to a whole host of scientific facts from biological classification, comparative anatomy, embryology, geographic distribution, palaeontology, comparative biochemistry and parasitology. The hypothesis of evolution does everything that a good working hypothesis should do and continues to explain and to agree with new facts as they are discovered. If, however, any fact or body of facts entirely irreconcilable with the theory of evolution were to be discovered or proved, the theory would have to be abandoned or at least modified, as so frequently happened to other scientific hypotheses in the past.

The strength of the case for the general theory of evolution rests then upon the convergence of the various lines of indirect evidence. For the descent of one form from the other has been observed only in rare cases; in almost all other cases it is inferred from the similarity or likeness of the forms. Each of the several arguments in favour of evolution can be given another explanation—it may even be a plausible one. But what has to be explained is the existence of the convergence of the different lines of evidence. Consequently, when these arguments are taken all together it is more reasonable to posit *one* cause which explains *all* the facts rather than a series of separate and independent causes for each line of evidence. Evolution thus has a strong appeal to the human mind, which seeks unity and simplicity, and so long as a man considers the laws of nature to be rational, consistent and universal in their operations he will continue to seek a single operative secondary cause as the origin and the reason for the diversity of organic forms. So long as the intervention of divine power is conceded where sound philosophy demands such an intervention there is no reason why we cannot go along with the theory of evolution.

Even some theological reason for evolution could be brought forward which might appeal to some. As the Orthogeneticists assert, it appears that God created the various forms of life in an ever ascending series of evolution, each form coming closer to man in outward form. The creatures created and allowed to die are like broken moulds of the sculptor, made and then cast aside. But there is apparently an ultimate purpose, a finality in creating these many forms: man. The whole long pre-human history makes sense only in man (*Gloria Dei, vivens homo*!).

2. *Evolution of Man*

If finally we consider the evolution of man's body in a purely scientific way, just what do we find today? Biologically, man is classified in the same order as the apes, i.e. as "primates." Both morphologically and physiologically, man's body shows a strict continuity with lower forms of life. It has a substantially similar circulatory, respiratory and digestive system, similar bones, muscles, teeth, similar blood groups, blood chemistry, parasites, sex life, etc. These observable facts lead one to suspect that between the human organism and that of the anthropoid apes there exists an indirect physical and genetic bond. In other words, the convergent lines of evidence once again seem to lead to an evolutionistic explanation.

Modern zoologists, therefore, agree on the following grouping: "The superfamily *Hominoidae* includes all the forms generally known as the great apes, fossil and modern, as well as modern man and his relatives. This category is subdivided into three families: *Parapithecidae*, which contains the extinct genus Parapithecus; *Pongidae*, which includes the chimpanzee, gorilla, orang, gibbon, siamang and all their fossil relatives; *Hominidae*, which includes modern and fossil man and also fossil relatives." A recent author, J.T. Robinson, subdivides the last mentioned family, the *Hominidae*, into "two sub-families: *Euhominidae* and *Australopithecinae*. The former contains true men, that is, erect hominids with a brain of sufficient size to allow the human type of mental and social activity; in short, tool-making man. The *Australopithecinae* include hominids which are fully biped but have relatively small brains and are without definite culture." Other zoologists, like Simpson, regard the Australopithecines as a sub-family of the *Pongidae*.

It is generally admitted today by all biologists and zoologists, except by the materialists among them, that man is vastly different from the animal. When it was that man broke free from the natural circle, is still unknown. It must have been a long time ago. And "whether he did so as man, or whether he did so in order to become man is perhaps insoluble" (L. Paul). Paul is inclined to put the emergence of *homo sapiens* in a flowering of ape forms in the Lower Miocene, about 35 million years ago. But that date is a mere conjecture, for it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide where the animal ends and man begins. Definite proofs of man's distinct existence, his tools, date back to a period of between a million and 600,000 years ago.

The materialists often maintain that man's difference from the animals is merely the result of his social habits. But animals too may live in societies,highly developed and organized "animal states," and still be without any trace of a mental culture. Nor is any room left in these complicated states for the individual.

Twenty years ago the scientists were much surer of the lines of human evolution and also of the proofs from palaeontology than they are today. On the basis of the finds of fossil man and fossil apes—ape-like creatures—available then, the line of development from primitive ape-like forms to the modern type of man seemed clear enough. It was based principally on the chin or lack of it, the prominence of the supra-orbital ridges and the slope of the forehead and the brain capacity. This appeared convincing enough and the disputes as to whether certain finds were human or those of anthropoid apes lent credence to the belief that only a few links were still missing.

However, more recent discoveries of fossil forms, apparently as old or even older than the most ape-like of human fossils, which are very similar to those of the modern type of man, completely upset the older line of argument. "It is now clear that many of the early evolutionistic speculations about the semi-human development of ancient man were purely subjective and false, that brain size is no indication of intelligence, that the modern type of man is as old as any of the crudest human fossils, that evolution was not in a straight line but was disharmonious, that crude and modern traits occurred, in what remains for scientists an inexplicable tangle" (S. A. Sieber).

It is now widely recognized by the biologists that the direction which evolution took since man became man, is diametrically opposed to that of the animals. Animal evolution is governed by a principle which turns upon the body and its capacities as a means with which to implement adaptation to environment, e.g. by developing aggressive or defensive weapons. Man, however, after he invented and improved the use of tools, broke away from the animal scheme and instead of developing further his body's capacities, perfected his artificial means of mastering his environment. Evolution of man is no more *in* his body, but *outside* his body. It even results in a disintegration of the body's original adaptive outfit leading to its present state of "nakedness." It is this unique principle of "body-liberation" which separates man fundamentally from the animal.

Biologists also acknowledge the great and seemingly unbridgeable gulf between man and all other creatures in other biological aspects. Important in this regard are the studies of the Swiss zoologist A. Portmann and others. They emphasize the great differences between man and all the animals in many physiological characters, in the functioning of the organs, in the rhythm of growth, etc.

Moreover, man is unique in having conceptual thought and will-power. The evolution of man's mental faculties and spiritual life is a problem apart. The theory that man's moral behaviour has been evolved from animal behaviour fails to account for essential aspects of moral experience and individual responsibility; nor has science accounted for truth, justice, beauty, honour, charity; man is probably unique in being the one living creature who is aware of his own existence with its limitations, having a beginning and an end. Thus it is still open to argument whether man has evolved wholly by natural means. It is no more a question to be decided by natural science. Even the inveterate evolutionist Julian Huxley is forced to admit: "If man were wiped out, it is in the highest degree improbable that the step to conceptual thought would be taken again," and "only along one single line is progress and its future possibility being continued—the line of man. In all other directions evolutionary progress seems to have ended in a series of blind alleys."

The problem of evolution is thus full of unsolved questions. We do well, therefore, to refrain from further theoretical discussions and to concentrate on the facts as they present themselves through palaeontology, prehistory and other allied sciences.

CHAPTER III

THE HUMAN RACE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

1. *Introduction*

To most palaeontologists and anthropologists the descent of man from the apes is an established and indisputable fact though they disagree about the manner and time of man's emergence from the animal state. Three theories are held at present: (1) Man and the anthropoid apes had a common ancestry of dryopithecoid apes in the Miocene period (10 to 7 million years ago). (2) Man and the anthropoid apes had in the Oligocene period (15 to 10 million years ago) a common ancestry of unspecialized Old World primates in which both monkey and anthropoid ape traits were intermingled. On this theory the Swiss scholar J. Hürzeler believes that Oriopithecus (discovered in a coal-mine in Tuscany in Italy) was a direct ancestor of man. The orthodox view is that this primate was a separate offshoot of the common stock. (3) A third theory proposes that in the Eocene period (20 to 15 million years ago) man and the anthropoid apes had a common ancestry of Old World tarsioids.

About the phylogenetic history of mankind in the Pleistocene (Ice age) the traditional theory is that the human body developed from an apelike (Pongid) basis in three stages through the Anthropus form (Archanthropines) and the Neanderthal form (Palaeoanthropines) to the modern Sapiens form. In this phylogenetic process the ape-like forms were the primary forms, and all those which deviate from the ape-like forms, must be regarded as younger. But the ape-like features gradually regress, while typically hominid features take their place. In other words, at the beginning of all human evolution stood a form which resembled closely that of the present-day Pongidae (chimpanzee, gorilla, etc.) with their powerful supra-orbital ridges, retreating forehead, small brain capacity, pronounced muzzle, curved spine, etc.

Some thirty or twenty years ago this assumption was strongly supported by the finds of fossil man then on hand. The Anthropus form, undoubtedly of highest age, conformed most closely to the hypothetical ancestral human form. Neanderthal man, considerably younger, had a much larger brain capacity and other "advanced" characters though some others were as "primitive" as those of Anthropus. Homo sapiens, the latest and youngest form, showed the greatest "advance" from the anthropoids. Thus the simple scheme of the "Three Stages" hypothesis with its chronological sequence and physiological distinction of three definite form groups is the core of the traditional theory of human evolution in the Pleistocene. It is captivating in its simplicify and clarity. It creates the impression that any other interpretation of the human fossil finds is absolutely excluded. We find it in fact in most handbooks as the last word in phylogenetic research.

But new research has shown that this theory rests on a rather shaky foundation. A steadily increasing number of new fossil finds does not fit into this traditional scheme. It is too simple. First of all, the ancient ape-forms from which alone man can have evolved do not show these strong supra-orbital ridges, retreating forehead, pronounced muzzle, curved spine, etc. of the present-day Pongidae. Even the Australopithecines (Plesianthropus and Paranthropus of Transvaal in South Africa), extinct forms with an upright posture and many other hominid morphological characteristics, living at the end of the Tertiary and in the beginning of the Quaternary periods, can only be designated as forms with weakly developed brow ridges. Consequently, the earliest human—or near-human—forms cannot have resembled the Anthropus group nor even the Neanderthal group. Further, new striking fossil finds reveal such a wide range of variability that it is impossible to hold on any longer to the "Three-Stages" hypothesis. Just the oldest forms of Neanderthal man reveal features which bring him much nearer to equally old forms of Homo sapiens. And such forms are as old as those of the Anthropus group. Human evolution in three definite stages, from the Anthropus to the

Neanderthal and, finally the Sapiens forms, is therefore not likely.

Instead of regarding the various fossil finds as subsequent stages in a straight morphological evolution, we may better interpret them as variants of a type or form complex, as a ramification of one basic form—as yet unknown—into various branches, partly contemporaneous. It becomes at once clear that if we accept the latter alternative the less differentiated form must be considered as the earlier one and many characters which formerly were regarded as recent would appear now as early. Certain features which are found in the Anthropus form and have been accepted as evident proofs of man's descent from apes because they are also found in the present-day Pongidae (chimpanzee, gorilla, etc.) may partly and to a certain extent be later and extreme developments, the effects of secondary specializations, which evolved in a line parallel to those in present-day anthropoid apes. It is not impossible that such morphological aberrations are the result of the isolation and inbreeding of certain groups for longer or shorter periods of time.

On the other hand, racial intermixture may also have taken place through intermarriage, adoption of outsiders, the migration of individuals, of groups and whole tribes, etc. This enabled the formation of ever new human forms through a recombination of the genetic characters. First they may have been limited to single races, but later they spread among various races through cross-breeding. The fact of such cross-breeding makes the classification of all fossil finds in proper order an impossible task.

Animals of the same species often cease to interbreed when they develop marked differences in colour, size and behaviour, and thus form new species. Man can overcome these barriers of race and space. This is probably the reason why present-day humanity forms one progenitive unit in spite of all racial differences and temporary isolations. Man is a cultural animal, and the biology of man cannot be fully understood without a study of his cultural contacts.

Consequently, latest research suggests the assumption that none of the traditional human forms, the Anthropus, the

Neanderthal or the Sapiens group, is morphologically uniform, and none can with certainty be genetically derived from any of the other two. Moreover, the various individual characters seem to evolve at a different pace, not only in the various main groups, but even within the same group. No natural law seems to exist which controls the equal pace of evolution of the various characters of the human organism. Each character has its own pace of evolution. The result is an odd conglomeration of "primitive" and "advanced" features in the fossil human finds and a continual crossing of "primitive" and "advanced" specializations in the subsequent stages of an established line of evolution.

After this introduction we shall now discuss in a short outline the various fossil human finds. We begin with the Australopithecines, not because we consider them as undoubtedly human—their human character is still doubted—but because their morphological structure seems to possess great significance for the evolution of the human body. We discuss then the Anthropus group, thirdly the Neanderthal group and finally the Sapiens group. But in the Neanderthal group we distinguish a pre-Neanderthal form, and in the Sapiens group a pre-Sapiens form; it is possible that in future handbooks these two sub-groups are combined as a separate group or as the earliest ramifications of the one basic form which is still unknown and undiscovered.

2. *The Fossil Forms*

THE AUSTRALOPITHECINAE AND PARANTHROPINAE

1. *Australopithecus africanus*. (*a*) *Taungs*: It was found in 1924 in a cave at Taungs in Bechuanaland, South Africa. It is the oldest of all Australopitheci, about 600,000 years old. The fossils belong to a young female individual, about six years old. The fossil bones consist of the face, some fragments of the cranial box, a skull filled with limestone, thus providing a perfect endocranial cast. Twenty milk teeth and the first definitive molars were also found. The finds have been described by Dart and Broom.

These two scholars maintain that the cranial box is more human-like than that of a chimpanzee or gorilla. The brain capacity is 520 cc (in a corresponding adult it would amount to 600 cc in a female and 700 cc in a male). In comparison it may be noted that the gorilla has only 600 cc, while the orang-outang and chimpanzee have still less—500 cc.

The superciliary ridges are almost lacking. The forehead is more fully developed than in the chimpanzee or gorilla. The teeth are typically human. The upper jaw teeth have three cusps—like human teeth—while anthropoids have only two cusps. The first pre-molars of the lower jaw have, as in man, four cusps, while the anthropoids have only one. The canines are very small, as in humans. But the first definitive molars are very large, larger than in man and in the chimpanzees.

(*b*) *Sterkfontain*: Broom found between 1936 and 1938 at Sterkfontain, north of Johannesburg in South Africa, remains of three or four specimens. He gave them the name *Plesianthropus transvaalensis*. The finds include two fragments of a jaw-bone, each with a row of teeth, a few isolated teeth, a fragment of the jaw-bone with teeth. The size of the jaw-bone suggests a skull with a brain capacity of 700 to 750 cc. The teeth, although very large, have humanoid patterns, not that of the anthropoids. But the third lower molar is as big as the second, while it is smaller in man. Broom also found a hip-bone which closely resembles that of a Bushman or Hottentot. In 1947 Broom made additional finds, all of the *Plesianthropus* type: the maxilla of an adult with a few teeth, the fragment of a maxilla of an infant, about three years old, some isolated teeth, a female skull, with base and teeth missing, but with prominent superciliary ridges. He also found a large lower jaw with the left denture complete, and the top and base of a skull. At Sterkfontain also tools were discovered; they are of the Oldowan type of Africa (chipped pebbles and stone flakes). But it is not known who fashioned these implements, a *Plesianthropus* or a hunter of the *Plesianthropus*.

2. *Paranthropus robustus*: This new type was found in 1938 by a schoolboy at Kromdraai, who damaged it badly. The find consists of a skull which is perhaps 300,000 years old. Later Broom found at the same place also the teeth and several other fragments: the greater portion of a mandible, and a few fragments of the skeleton. In 1941 the mandible of a young individual was discovered. The skull found in 1938 is much larger than that of the *Plesianthropus*; its brain capacity is between 600 and 700 cc.

3. *Australopithecus prometheus*: It was found in 1948 near a farm Makapagansgat in Middle Transvaal. The find consists of the back part of a skull. It has a cranial capacity of 600 to 700 cc, similar to that in *Paranthropus*. In 1955 an upper jaw-bone fragment was found, together with stone implements, belonging to the pebble culture. Also two teeth were found, much damaged; they probably belong to a man who was a contemporary to *Australopithecus prometheus*.

In general it can be safely stated that all *Australopitheci* date from the earliest Pleistocene. *Australopithecus africanus Taungs* is the oldest, the Makapagansgat fragments, and those of Sterkfontain (between 500,000 and 300,000 B.C.) come next; the Kromdraai fragments are rather more recent.

The question whether the *Australopitheci* were animals or men cannot be solved merely from an analysis of the fossils. Facts in favour of their human nature are that, according to Schepers, judging from the moulding result, the cortical regions of the brain suggest that they possessed in a certain measure the prerequisites for speech, and a greater manual dexterity than anthropoids. Dart studied the data provided by various beds; he came to the conclusion that the *Australopitheci* hunted big game. No stone tools have so far been found, though the skulls found suggest a violent death. Long hooked bones have been found and pieces of cleft humerus which may be tools. But it is doubtful. Dart also believes that they used fire; but others deny it. Broom claims to have found pebble tools at Makapagansgat in Australopithecine layers. Today most anthropologists agree that the Australopithecines are not far removed from the Euhominines (earliest men), but they seem to represent a side-branch.

The early prehistoric human races cannot be their descendants, for the Australopithecines are too recent, dating only from an early Pleistocene.

THE ANTHROPUS GROUP

No doubt exists that the Anthropus men were full-fledged men though their brain capacity was somewhat low—1,000 to 1,300 ccm—and though they resemble so much the anthropoids: they have massive protruding brow-ridges, a low forehead, the head carried forward, a receding chin, and a protruding muzzle.

1. *Pithecanthropus erectus*: In 1890 E. Dubois found at Kedung (Solo, Java) the fragment of a mandible of this prehistoric race, in 1891 at Trinil (Solo) a thick, shallow skull cap, and in 1892 a femur. The Palaeontologist R. von Königswald found between the years 1936 and 1939 remains of five individuals and later remains of two more individuals, all in all five skulls and two mandibles. The skull caps show strongly developed superciliary ridges, a very fleeting forehead and no chin. The dentition shows no diastemata. The cranial capacity is only between 870 and 1000 cc.[1] This type of man lived in the Mindel II (Riss) Interglacial period (between 425,000 and 240,000). No stone tools were found with the fossils, except at Sangiran.

2. *Pithecanthropus Pekinensis, or Sinanthropus*: Fossils of this man were found between 1926 and 1940 first by Zdansky, then by Black and later by Weidenreich. First a few teeth were found, later more fossils at Chou-ku-tien, 30 miles south-west of Peking. The sum total of all finds was considerable: six skulls, fragments of others, eleven fragments of mandibles, 147 teeth, one atlas, one humerus, five femurs, one clarical, one semilunar bone fragment. The fossils were of some forty-five different individuals. Unfortunately the whole material was lost in the Japanese war, though plaster-casts had been made of all the fragments.

---

[1] It should be noted that two living Vedda women were measured with a brain capacity of 960 cc. *Cf.* Spittel, *Vanished Trails*, p. xiv.

The cranial capacity of Peking Man was about 1,050 cc (between 915 and 1,250 cc), the forehead receding; no diastemata could be found in the dentition, but strong supraorbital ridges were noticed. He was chinless. Remarkable is the great variation in the different skulls (perhaps due to sexual dimorphism), and the grazility of his limbs; his shoulder and thigh bones are not much different from that of Homo sapiens. Peking man was short (5 ft. 2″, the male).

Sinanthropus was undoubtedly a full-fledged man, because he used fire (ashes and calcinated bones were found at the site). He used also roughly but deftly shaped wood, horn and stone implements. He lived in the Günz-Mindel Interglacial period (520,000 to 500,000).

3. *Gigantopithecus blacki*: (three molars found in 1935 in Canton and Hongkong by G.H.R. von Königswald) is probably an ape. Recently Dr Pei found a whole lower jaw with 12 teeth in place in the Kwangi Province. Dr Pei believes that the ape is a creature beginning to emerge from apehood. It ate meat and vegetable food.

4. *Atlantanthropus mauretanicus*: Of this type two lower jaws were found, together with Chelleo-Acheuléan culture implements, in 1954, at Ternifine near Oran (Algeria). The jaws are similar to *Sinanthropus*, but differ also in several points. On the whole, jaw bones belong to the most variable parts of the human skeleton.

5. *Homo Soloensis*: W.F.F. Oppenoorth found in 1931 at Ngandong in Java eleven cranial boxes and two tibiae, belonging to the geological age of the European Mousterian. The base of all the skulls was broken in, face and jaws were missing. The skulls had a straight regular visor, a thick ridge or occipital torus and a cranial capacity of 1,100 cc. This places them nearer to Pithecanthropus than to Neanderthal man.

6. *Homo Heidelbergensis*: O. Schoetensack found in 1907 at Mauer near Heidelberg a mandible with a complete set of teeth; its rising branch is very large and its shape is simian, but the teeth are definitely human. The canines are not different from those of modern man; there are no

diastemata. The mouldings of the molars are human, but the second molar is larger than the rest.

This find belongs to the Günz II-Mindel I Interglacial period (545,000 to 535,000 years).

7. A lower jaw was found in 1949 at Montmarin (Haute Garonne) in France, together with pre-Mousterian culture implements. The jaw belongs into the Riss-Würm Interglacial period. It is similar to the Mauer jaw in robust build, with strongly fleeting symphysis, without chin and large teeth. It also resembles a High-Neanderthaler, but is smaller. Vallois calls it a pre-Neanderthaler.

8. *Meganthropus Palaeojavanicus*: G.H.R. von Königswald found in 1939 at Sangiran two fragments of mandibles of gigantic size and remarkable thickness; in 1941 he found also at Sangiran two right lower premolars and the first molar following. All these fragments bear a close resemblance to the Mauer jaw.

9. *Telanthropus capensis*: Robinson found in 1949 at Swartkrans near Sterkfontain in Transvaal a mandible, almost complete, three left molars and three back molars at right. The age of these finds is doubtful. The bone fragments resemble the Heidelberg jaw, but the dental arch is slightly curved, as in Australopithecus. The chin is less receding than in Australopithecus, but more than in the jaw of Heidelberg man and in Palaeojavanicus. The third molar is 14 mm long. It is, however, doubtful, if the finds belong to a Pithecanthropus type at all.

THE NEANDERTHAL GROUP

From the Neanderthal proper. we must distinguish a pre-Neanderthal group. Despite the similarity with fully developed Neanderthal man, this group has several characteristics that set it apart from the Neanderthal proper.

1. *Pre-Neanderthal*: (*a*) Fragments of six individuals at *La Ferrassie* and a skeleton, a skull and fragments at *La Quina* were found together with Mousterian implements. The faces are less prognathous, the face of La Ferrassie has even the beginning of a chin.

(*b*) The *Steinheim* skull, found 1932 by Berckhemr: It is about 500,000 years old and belongs either to the Würm-Riss Interglacial period or to the Riss Glacial period. It reveals characteristics which place it nearer to Sapiens forms: the teeth are more advanced, the face less prognathous and the parietal-temporal fissure curved, the back of the head is well rounded. But it has heavy supraorbital ridges, like the Neanderthal man.

(*c*) Finds at *Krapina* (Croatia) and at *Ehringsdorf* (near Weimar), together with a blade industry of the middle Palaeolithic period. The finds are similar to that of Steinheim and as old. The question is whether Homo sapiens and Neanderthal man are bifurcations of a common ancestor (the Steinheim man?), or whether these finds at Krapina and Ehringsdorf represent a retarded branch of the Neanderthal man, existing already in the age of the Steinheim skull.

(*d*) Near Staroselje in the *Krim*, the skeleton of a boy, about 1½ years old, was found in 1953, together with Mousterian tools. It is not clear whether it belongs to a pre-Sapiens race or to a pre-Neanderthal race.

(*e*) The finds at *Saccopastore* near Rome and at *Gibraltar* belong to the same group. At Saccopastore a human skull was found, with heavy supraorbital ridges and fleeting forehead, but the back of the head was well rounded and its basal region showed that this man was walking in a completely upright posture.

2. *The Neanderthal Man, proper*: The chief characteristics of the Neanderthal proper are: massive bones, large protruding brow-ridges, a retreating forehead, a forward-projecting or elongated muzzle-like face, a receding chin, very prominent jaws, a flattened skull, a brain capacity of between 1400 and 1600 cc. Remarkable is the lack of cervical curvature, a form by which the head is carried slightly forward, and a femur which is slightly curved. It produced a shambling gait. In general this human race reveals a rather clumsy form. In Europe it is less than 150,000 years old. At one time it populated the entire land mass from Germany to Cape Town and from Spain to Java.

Since 1857, when the first Neanderthal specimen was discovered, until now, 360 sites of this race have been found, of adults and children. The finds were made in various countries.

1. *Homo neanderthalensis*: A full skeleton was found in 1859 by F.C. Fuhlrott in the Neanderthal near Elberfeld; unfortunately it was all lost except a skull cap, which reveals prominent superciliary ridges, forming a "visor," a low cranial vault and a receding forehead. Virchow and other German palaeontologists declared it a pathological specimen of *Homo sapiens*, but new finds were made subsequently which left no doubt that an until then unknown human race had been discovered. Later in Neanderthal itself a heavy mandible was found without teeth; in Gibraltar a skull without mandible (found in 1848, but published in 1946); a lower jaw bone at Banolas in Spain (1887); a very receding chin was found at La Naulette near Dinant in France (1866); other finds were made at Le Moustier and La Chapelle in France. In Hungary Neanderthal finds were made at Suba, in Italy in the Guattari caves in the Monte Circeo. Most of the finds date from the beginning of the last glacial period (Würms), the mid-Palaeolithic or Mousterian period. They are found all over Europe not covered at that time by ice, except England; even in Uzbekistan (Teshik-Tash).

2. *Homo n. Rhodensis*: In 1921 a skull and a few other bones were found in a cave under Broken Hill in Rhodesia by W.P. Pycraft. The skull shows some variances: the vault is loftier than in Neanderthal, the cranial box is more human, the brain capacity is 1,280 cc. The superciliary ridges are more projecting and thicker, curving over each orbit, than in Neanderthal man, but they are less developed over the nose and on each side. Yet the teeth are like those of modern man. The muzzle is as massive as that of a gorilla. The dental decay is an indication of the existence of this man in the end of the Pleistocene; the accompanying stone and bone tools are also recent. Thus *Homo n. Rhodensis* must have been a contemporary of *Homo sapiens*.

3. *Homo n. Saldanhaensis*: Twenty-five fragments were found in 1953 at Hopefield near Saldanha Bay (Cape Colony,

South Africa) which are very similar to the Rhodesian man. The age of the remains is, however, doubtful because they were surface finds.

4. *Homo n. Palaestinensis*: The remains of eleven individuals (five men, three women and three children) were found in the caves of et-Tabun and es-Skhul on Mount Carmel between 1925 and 1932 in layers which contained Levallois-Mousterian stone tools.

These specimens are remarkable for their similarity to *Homo sapiens* and show three variations: a higher cranial vault, a more rounded occipital region and a less receding forehead, but the superciliary ridges are very prominent. The range of variation within this group is so great that each individual would be considered as belonging to a different race, had they not all been found together at one place.

They may represent a cross-breed between a Neanderthal and a Homo sapiens, or be a Neanderthal developing towards Homo sapiens, or be a Neanderthal imperfectly evolved. The problem remains as yet unsolved.

5. *Africanthropus Njarajensis*: In 1935 and 1938, 230 pieces of a skull bone were found on Lake Njarasa, the pieces belonging to three skulls. But the edges were very worn, so the interpretation is doubtful. They date from the middle of the Upper Pleistocene. Weinert declares them to be similar to Pithecanthropus, Weidenreich similar to Neanderthal man.

HOMO SAPIENS

From the *Homo sapiens*, in the proper sense of the term, we have to distinguish a pre-Homo sapiens section, in some characteristics at variance with Homo sapiens, and of very high age.

A. Specimens of this pre-Homo sapiens are:

1. *Swanscombe* skull: In 1935 A.T. Marston found at Swanscombe (London alluvial region) the occipital and left parietal portion of a young woman's skull. In 1955 the right parietal bone, together with crude flint hand axes and coal fragments from the Acheulian period of the mid-Pleistocene (cc. 300,000 B.C.) were also found. The

fragments have anatomically a close resemblance to that of Homo sapiens; the vault is less thick. Brain capacity cca. 1325 cc.

2. *Fontéchevade* man: In 1947 Mlle G. Henri Martin found at Fontéchevade (north-eastern Angoulême in France) an incomplete skull cap, *i.e.* the greater part of the parietals and the upper two-thirds of the frontal, besides the frontal of another individual. These fragments belong into the interglacial Riss-Würm period (between Acheulian and Mousterian—150,000 B.C.). They resemble the Swanscombe skull and have the form and dimensions of the Homo sapiens skull; the frontal is very curved and there is no trace of a visor. But the thickness of the skull cap is greater than in most of the Neanderthalers and similar to that of Swanscombe man.

3. To this type of man belong the finds at *Kanam* and *Kanjera* in Africa, and at *Olmo* and *Quinzano* in Europe. However, their attribution to the Lower Pleistocene is not quite assured.

B. Forms of *Homo sapiens*, proper:

In general it can be said that the prehistoric forms of Homo sapiens differ in some points from the Homo sapiens as he is living today. In the prehistoric forms the cranial box is less developed, the orbit is larger and somewhat flattened, and prognathism is generally more marked. To prehistoric Homo sapiens belong the fossils of the following sites:

1. *Crô-Magnon* (Dordogne in France): Five skeletons were found in 1868, which show great variability and negroid characteristics (long fore-arm, long shanks, lower jaw).

2. *Grimaldi* caves: Forteen skeletons were found. Grimaldi man was from 5 ft. 10 in. to 6 ft. 3 inch. tall. He has negroid, or australoid features.

3. *Brünn* in Moravia (Czechoslàvakia): Three skeletons were found in 1885 and 1892, and 1927 to 1929. They show great variability.

4. *Predmost* in Moravia: Fifteen complete and five in fragments recovered skeletons were found in 1894. They are a variant of the Crô-Magnon race.

5. *Oberkassel* on the Rhein: Two skeletons were found in a double-grave with Magdalenian industry. The face of the mandible is wide, the cheekbones are prominent. The orbits, large and flattened, are with a rectangular contour. The skull is dolicho-cephalic, long and narrow. The brain capacity is between 1,600 and 1,700 cc.

6. *Chancelade* (Dordogne): One skeleton was found, buried in squatting position, with Magdalenian implements. The skull reveals pronounced dolichocephaly, a high vault, a high and broad face, and round eye-holes.

7. *Combe Capelle*: A skeleton was found by Hauser in 1909 in a layer of the early Young Palaeolithic period, with implements of the older Aurignacian period. Its morphological characteristics are confusing so that it cannot be assigned to any of the living human races.

8. *Wadjak* (Java): Two skulls were found by Dubois in 1889-1890. Their age (Upper Pleistocene ?) is doubtful. Their brain capacity is great (1,550 cc.), they are dolichocephalic, their superciliary ridges are strong and their prognathism is conspicuous. They are similar to modern Australian aborigines. A similar skull was found in 1940 at *Keilor* (outside Melbourne) in Australia. He could be called a Proto-Australian.

9. *Shukbah* and *Athlit*, Palestina: From 1928 to 1931 D. Garrod found in late Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites of the Natufian bones of numerous individuals (45 in the Shukbah cave and 87 in the Athlit cave). The skulls are dolichomesocephalic with pronounced prognathy; the stature is middle or low. The human type is mediterranean with traces of pre-dynastic Egyptian forms.

10. *Asselar* (French Sudan): The find, discovered in 1927, is definitely negroid. But it is post-pleistocene (holocene).

11. *Gamble* (Kenya): Leakey found two male skeletons in squatting position with a young-Palaeolithic industry; they belong into the second African Pluvial period. The skulls are ultra-dolichocephalic and orthognatous.

12. *Oldoway* (Tanganyika): Reck discovered in 1913 a fossil skeleton in a squatting position, belonging to the end of Pleistocene. The skull is dolicho- and ortho-cephalic, the

face narrow and high. Mollison and Keith regard it as an old hamitic type.

13. *Boscop* (Transvaal): In 1914 strongly fossilized skull fragments of an uncertain age were found. The vault is very thick, brain capacity very large (1832 cc.), its form is platicephalic. Keith sees in this type the ancestor of the Bushman and Hottentot race.

14. *Springbock* (Transvaal): A skeleton was found in 1929 with an incomplete skull, of hamitic type.

15. *Fish-Hook* (near Capstadt): A skeleton was found in the Skildergat cave, together with Stillbay type implements. The skull is similar to that of the Bushman, but its brain capacity is much larger.

16. *Cape Flats* (near Capstadt): Drennan found a skull fragment of uncertain age, with strong superciliary ridges and very low skull index. Drennan regards the skull as australoid.

17. *Mechta-el-Arbi* (Algeria): Debrugeu found in 1912 on a middle-Capsien site two skulls, a skull cap and some long bones; in 1926 the skeletons of seven more individuals. Some of the skulls have a broad, but not prognathous face, a low, receding forehead with pronounced superciliary ridges. They are still considered as of Crô-Magnon type.

18. *Afalu-Bu-Rummel* (Algeria): Nine skeletons could be reconstructed from the remains of numerous individuals with implements of a Capsien type. The variousin dividuals show great variability, from dolichocephaly to brachycephaly. But all belong to the Crô-Magnon race.

Conclusion: These fossil finds lead to a series of important conclusions concerning the biological history of mankind in the Pleistocene (Ice-Age). At the outset we must admit that it is not yet possible to prove convincingly that the earliest forms of Homo sapiens type are the primary form of humanity so that all other deviant forms are to be regarded as variations and special secondary formations, or even as extreme growths and side branches of this form type. This could only be maintained, if the Palaeontological finds would imply that the *Homo sapiens* type as such is regarded as the absolutely earliest type of all human forms. However, it must be granted that there is a certain degree of probability for such an assumption not only because the representatives of the *Anthropus* group, as we have shown earlier, must be eliminated as the historically earliest form of humanity, but also because the skulls of Swanscombe (cca. 300,000 B.C.) and Steinheim display characteristics of the *Homo sapiens* type, though not in a pure form, already in the middle Pleistocene, in the penultimate Mindel-Riss Interglacial period, that is, at the same time in which in China was living *Pithecanthropus pekinensis*, and in Java the *Pithecanthropus erectus* (300,000 to 400,000 B.C.). These *Homo sapiens* features must consequently be a very old heritage of mankind.

In the last (Riss-Würm) Interglacial period (200,000 to 100,000), representatives of the *Anthropus* group (*Africanthropus* and the *Ngandong* man), the *Neanderthal* group (pre-*Neanderthal*, *Palestine* men) and the *Homo sapiens* group (with pre-*sapiens* forms) certainly existed side by side in various regions of the world. It seems even probable that it came to cross-breeding between at least *Neanderthalers* and *Homo sapiens* men in the marginal areas of their territories. The Palestine men with their peculiar mixture of *Neanderthal* and *Homo sapiens* characteristics cannot be explained, in the sense of the classical theory of evolution, as intermediary links between *Neanderthalers* and *Homo sapiens* men, or as the ancestral form of both, but only as the result of a cross between both groups. This has been proved by Dobzhansky on the basis of genetic considerations. This genetic argument is impressively verified by more recent prehistorical research (Asmus, Freund, Rust) about the peculiar existence of young-Palaeolithic blade cultures of the pre-Aurignacian period in layers of old-Palaeolithic core tool cultures, like the ones which are found at Jabrud (Syria) and in the Skhul and Tabun caves on Mount Carmel (Palestine). This young Palaeolithic pre-Aurignacian, which is the purer and more numerous the earlier it appears, disappears again in later layers and gives way to old-Palaeolithic core tool cultures. It is, as for instance in the Tabun cave, accompanied by pronounced *Homo sapiens* human relics (almost of the Cro-Magnon type), but the old-Palaeolithic culture is found together with human remains of a pronounced Neanderthal character. In Krapina and Ehringsdorf a similar sequence of strata has been found. This surprising fact that *Homo sapiens*-like men with a pre-Aurignacian culture are found below a stratum of Neanderthaloid men with an old-Palaeolithic culture is perhaps correctly explained by Rust when he assumes that inter-glacial *Homo sapiens* men advanced from the vast areas of northern Eurasia with their rich potentialities for the evolution of physiological and cultural specifications into the warm parts of western Asia which for so long had been occupied by the Neanderthal men apparently preferring a warm climate.

This wave of invasion, however, did not persist, as the finds show, but died out. Its carriers were probably assimilated by the *Neanderthalers*. But later, in the Würm glaciation (115,000 B.C.), *Homo sapiens* man and his young-Palaeolithic culture of the Aurignacian type again advanced in a broad front in the south and west of Europe. In this advance the High-*Neanderthal* man with his old-Palaeolithic culture of the late Mousterian type was either destroyed or assimilated. This occupation of Europe was of course a long process during which high-*Neanderthalers* and *Homo sapiens* men certainly lived side by side. More recent research of the stratigraphic situation of the Aurignacian men (especially Brünn III in Moravia and Combe Capelle in France) suggests that these complete *Homo sapiens* forms are older than it was previously assumed, and must be thus considered as contemporaries of the high-*Neanderthal* men.

There can be no doubt, today, that these three great form groups, or better, racial groups of early mankind existed in clearly pronounced type already during the last Interglacial period side by side. If the Swanscombe skull is indeed a pre-*Homo sapiens* form, then the *Anthropus*, *Neanderthal* and *Homo sapiens* existed side by side already in the penultimate Interglacial period. This would suggest that during the whole Pleistocene period mankind was in existence in various forms which, however, could interbreed and therefore can only be regarded as different races, not as different human species.

This also proves that the missing link which connects man with the primates has not yet been found. There is as yet no evidence of this hypothetical primary form of humanity. We do not know if it ever will be found. But if we hold that mankind descended from one human pair, such a missing link must have existed at one time, perhaps in the Tertiary period already.

Some of the anthropologists try to save the older theory by pointing out that the higher age of the pre-*sapiens* forms to *Neanderthal* forms does not prove conclusively that the *sapiens* forms did not evolve from *Australopithecus* and *Anthropus* forms. Their races could have evolved with a higher speed than the *Neanderthalenses*. Ashley Montagu calls this *Neoteny*. There was much in-breeding. In small groups mutations are more common. Vallois, however, is of the opinion that *Homo neanderthalensis* was an off-shoot of *Homo* pre-*sapiens*, and died out when *Cro-Magnon* man appeared.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARY HUMAN RACES

1. *Definition*

SCIENTISTS do not agree in a uniform definition of the term "race." But most scholars will subscribe to the following definition: a race is a group of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characteristics, of genetic origin. These combinations serve in varying degrees to distinguish one sub-group from other sub-groups of mankind. The combination of physical characteristics is transmitted in descent providing all conditions which originally gave rise to the combination remain relatively unaltered; as a rule a racial group inhabits or did inhabit a more or less restricted geographical region. In explanation of this definition of "race" we may add the following observations:

Within a certain racial group the individual variability of the racial traits is so great that the contours appear always to be fluid. Each race has therefore a range of variations. Individual variations occur in all forms of life. It is the average which usually gives the significant difference. Therefore, a large number of individuals in a given group have to be observed and measured before the characteristic racial traits of that particular group can be established.

There have occurred extensive racial mixtures in the history of man. Weidenreich maintains that mixed races existed as early as a million years ago. There is hardly a single pure race in the world today.

All living races of man must be classified in one species. They all seem to have a common ancestor. All are able to interbreed. It must be admitted that the differences in the various human races are not considerable and rather superficial. We are perhaps inclined to emphasise differences rather than to recognize similarities. However, we must also reckon with the possibility that similarities may be either a reversal to type or convergence towards a type.

It is commonly agreed that the human races are distinguished mainly by physical characteristics which are inheritable. Anthropology provides no scientific basis for the physical or mental inferiority in certain human races.

2. *The Physical Criteria of Race*

It is impossible to establish a "race" on the basis of only one or two characteristics. There is no single test of a race as, for instance, colour or stature. Physical anthropologists usually employ 31 traits to set up and distinguish a race. In doing so they make use of the average complex of traits about which the racial type of a group gravitates.

An important element in distinguishing "race" is complexion: the various hues of skin colour are most conspicuous, though, naturally, a broad margin exists in every race due to the environment. In a general way three racial groups are distinguished on the basis of their complexion: white, black and yellow.

Another element distinguishing the various races is the eye: its colour, the form of the eye-lid, etc. The Mongolian race, for instance, has the epicanthic fold on the upper eye-lid.

The form of the face and of its parts differs also in the various races: the proportion of the facial parts, the form of the nose (long, short, narrow, flat, funnel-shaped, button-shaped, root of the nose low or high), of the lips (thick, thin, everted, mucuous), the form of the chin, whether receding or forward-jutting (prognathous), the form of the forehead (low, sloping, high), the brow-ridges, the height of the vault, etc.

The hair also varies in the different races, not only its colour, but also its thickness, form, frequency and cross-section (oval or round).

The skull proportions (ratio of breadth to length of the brain case, absolute size of the head, height of the cranial vault, and other characters) differentiate the races of man.

As to stature, the average man is about 165 cm tall. But certain races are much shorter, like the Pygmies (below

150 cm), also the Malay and Philippine Negritos, the Bushmen and Hottentots, the Ainu, Lapps, Eskimos, and a few Central American tribes. Some races, on the other hand, are much taller than the average, up to 180 cm, like the Nilotic tribes in Central and South-East Africa, the tribes in eastern North America and in South America (Patagonians), some races in North-West Europe and in the Balkans. Of importance are also the proportions of the trunk to the limbs, the form of hands and feet, the lines on the palm and fingertips, the muscles, and certain peculiarities, like the steatopygy of the Bushmen and Andamanese women, or the Mongolian spot on children of—mainly—Mongolian or related racial origin.

The various human races have a different average proportion of blood groups (O, A, AB; M, N, MN; Rh types; the presence or absence of sickle cells).

Interesting differences have also been found in the various human races in the proportion of tasters to non-tasters of PTC (Phenyl-thio-carbamide).

CONTEMPORARY HUMAN RACES

The present-day human races can be divided broadly into four ethnic groups, with a number of sub-divisions: The Negroid, the Australoid, the Europoid (Caucasoid), and the Mongoloid groups.

1. *The Negroid Group*

The transition from late fossil types to contemporary races is one of the obscurest points in physical anthropology. Especially for the origin of the Negroid group very scanty data are available. It can only be stated with certainty that it must be an early, though highly specialized, branch of the primitive stem of *Homo sapiens*.

(*a*) *The Pygmy Group*. The oldest sub-group of the Negroid race is probably the Pygmy group. The Pygmies can be divided into African, Asiatic and Pacific Pygmies. The African Pygmies are also called Negrillos, while the Asiatic Pygmies are known as Negritos. No proof is available of a genetic relation between the three groups. The African Pygmies are highly specialized in their racial form; they probably evolved from yet undifferentiated Negroids due to their life in the primeval forest and in strict isolation. They are of hereditary small stature (less than 150 cm), with a short trunk and short legs, but long arms. The skin colour is dark, with a reddish yellow hue. The nose is very flat and broad, the hair woolly. The African Pygmies live mainly in the equatorial forests of Central Africa.

Another racial group, the Khoisanids, moving from north to south, followed the Pygmies. The last remnants of this race are the Bushmen of the Kalahari and Namib Deserts; while the Hottentots are a product of a mixture between the ancient Khoisanids and the—probably Australoid—Boscop race.

The Asiatic Pygmies, or Negritos, are found on the Andaman Islands, on Malaya (Semang), and on the Philippines (Aeta). Recently skeletons of extinct Negritos were discovered on Flores and Timor in Indonesia.

The Pacific Pygmies are found in New Guinea; they probably formed the earliest population of Malaysia and the Pacific Islands. Remnants of a Negrito population seem to have survived in northern Queensland (Australia).

(*b*) *The African Negro Group*. Though the various African Negro races differ considerably, they have many racial features in common. All are as a rule dolichocephalic, have woolly hair, a dark complexion and a flat nose. The Negroid race may be sub-divided into the West-African Negro, the Forest Negro (inhabiting tropical Africa and standing closest to the Pygmy group), the Nilotic group, the Hamitic group, and the Bantu-speaking Negro group.

The West-African Negro has a black skin, woolly hair, broad and flat nose, and thick lips. He is dolichocephalic and is strongly prognathous.

The Forest Negro is short-legged, long-armed and barrel-chested. He too is dolichocephalic and has likewise a flat nose and thick lips. His stature varies considerably.

The Nilotic Negro is tall, very dark, dolichocephalic, with a Hamitic racial admixture.

The Half-Hamites, in East-Africa and East Central Africa, are the result of a mixture of Hamites with Negroes. They differ considerably among themselves in their racial characteristics.

An even greater conglomeration of peoples is represented by the name of the Bantu-speaking Negroes. They inhabit mainly central and southern Africa.

The origin of the Negro race is still a puzzle. Recently doubts were raised as to whether Africa was the place of origin of the Negroid race. In general, North Africa has never been predominantly Negro. The prominence of the Negro race begins from the Sahara southward.

(*c*) *The Oceanic Negro Group.* The main group of the Oceanic Negroes is represented by the Melanesians, of which the Papuans are a sub-group. Many local types must be distinguished; but on the whole they are dark-skinned, dolichocephalic, with frizzly hair. The genetical connection of the Oceanic Negroes with the African Negroes is still very problematic, but evidence of an early Negroid sub-stratum in the peoples of India, Burma, Persia and Arabia is not wanting. This would link the two Negro groups geographically. It is also possible that the Oceanic Negroes are the result of a mixture of the Negritos with an Archaic Caucasoid or Australoid race.

2. *The Proto-Australoid or Archaic Caucasoid Group*

The Proto-Australoid type can be considered as a primitive form of the Caucasoid or Europoid type. While neanthropic in the bulk of the population, it may have a scattering of more primitive Neanderthal characters. This group is dolichocephalic,with wavy hair, a dark complexion, a flat nose and heavy brow-ridges. Into this group fall four geographically widely separated races: the Vedda of Ceylon and some South-Indian hill-tribes, numerous primitive tribes of Western and Central India, the aborigines of Australia and the Ainu of Japan.

The Australian aborigines have narrow head, marked brow ridges, a retreating glabella, depressed root of nose and sunken orbits. The skin colour is a brownish mahogany, the hair is wavy or even curly, and often tawny in children. The abundance of body hair is remarkable.

The Ainu, the most ancient inhabitants of Japan, are also dolichocephalic, with a high and relatively narrow nasal bridge, greyish white skin and wavy hair. The Ainu men have heavy brow ridges, which are generally absent in the females. Formerly their bodies were more hairy than in any other race.

3. *The Caucasoid or Europoid Group*

From the Proto-Australoid level little advance was needed to attain a brunnette, wavy-haired, dolichocephalic type which probably was ancestral to the rest of humanity. This ethnic group is often called the white race though it has a number of dark sub-groups.

One sub-group is the Mediterranean race. It is dolichocephalic, with wavy hair, brown to light complexion and narrow nose. It comprises most of the dolichocephalic peoples of Europe, North Africa, India and southern Asia, and traces of similar populations farther to the East.

A modified descendant of the Mediterranean race is the Nordic race, with very light skin, fair hair and blue or grey eyes, with narrow and prominent nose and mesocephalic head index. It is found mainly in northern and eastern Europe.

A more recent sub-group of the Europoid or Caucasoid type is the Alpine race, which is brachycephalic, with wavy hair, brown to light complexions and narrow noses. The brachycephalic peoples of Europe and western Asia belong to this group which extends far into India. Some Anthropologists distinguish also a Dinaric and an Armenoid racial type. Others add an East Baltic type and a Lapp type. Even a Polynesian group may be included in the Europoid group, though it has at present Melanesian and Mongoloid admixtures.

It is still impossible to connect genetically the prehistoric races of Europe and Asia with the present-day Caucasoid forms. Particularly frustrating are the conjectures about the origin of the brachycephalics, especially the Alpines. And the origin of the Nordics is equally nebulous.

4. *The Mongoloid Group*

The origin of the Mongoloid type is shrouded in mystery; even the skeletons of the lower Holocene, found in Asia, show rather Europoid than Mongoloid features. As they are brachycephalic, they must be a recent racial form. The Mongoloids have straight dark hair, "yellow" or "red" complexions and noses of intermediate type. Most of the East-Asiatics and American populations belong to this group. The Mongoloids may be sub-divided into a Palaeo-Mongoloid or Eskimoid group, a Central Mongoloid, an Amerindian and an Indonesia-Malay group.

The contemporaneous human races are all very much mixed, and the transition from one type into the other is never abrupt, except perhaps in the case of the Andamanese who are perhaps purest to type. The variability of racial traits within a certain group is also very high. All modern human races belong to the same species *Homo sapiens* because they all can interbreed.

A PROVISIONAL PHYLOGENY OF THE MODERN HUMAN RACES

White Races	Alpines,	Yellow Races:	Mongoloids
	Western Brachycephalics	Brachycephalics	Eastern Brachy-Cephalics
	Nordics Mediterraneans, Indo-Aryans, etc.	Mediterraneans	Eastern Long-heads
	Indo-Australoids	Australoids	Australians
	African Negroes	Primitive Human Stock	Oceanic Negroes

CHAPTER V

PREHISTORIC AND PRIMITIVE RACES IN INDIA

ARRANGING the population of India in its chronological sequence of appearance on this subcontinent and in its racial order is an almost impossible task for the Indian prehistorian and anthropologist. For though stone artefacts of prehistoric man have been found in abundance dating back to the lower Palaeolithic period, no skeletal finds have so far been made of the same period. And the human fossils of later periods are too few and too insignificant to allow any certain conclusions as to the racial prehistory of India. Still, some provisional opinions may be proposed on the basis of the finds made so far.

1. *The Prehistoric Races*

The earliest indication of tool-making man in Pleistocene India must be located into the last phase of the second glaciation or at the beginning of the second interglacial period (about 470,000 B.C.). In deposits of this geological age large rough stone flake tools[1] have been found in North India, in the Potwar (Rawalpindi region), and perhaps in Central India, in the upper Narbadda Valley (near Hoshangabad and Jabalpur). They are supposed to belong to the very end of the Lower Pleistocene phase. This is called the pre-Soan Culture. Unfortunately no human fossils go along with these finds. But from other parts of Asia we know that this type of artefacts is connected with *Pithecanthropus* (of Peking).

In the early Soan Culture a pebble technique is introduced and a core technique with thick heavy flakes. The Soan industry developed slowly—between 400,000 and 200,000 years ago—into a technique of preparing the core before chipping off the flakes. But the pebble element is still retained.

---

[1] Flakes are chipped from a larger stone; the large stone from which parts are chipped off to give it an edge is called a "core."

A core-tool industry is found with its centre in south-eastern India near Madras. It also belongs to the Lower Palaeolithic period. Similar stone implements have been found in Orissa (Mayurbhanj), in Central India (Hoshangabad, Jabalpur) and in a place 30 miles from Allabahad. Sporadic finds of the same industry have been made even south of Madras in the rivers Chauvery and Vaigai, then near Bombay (Khandivli), and north of the Narbada, in the upper reaches of the Son (a tributary of the Ganges). But its centre is Madras, and therefore it is called the Madras industry. The tools are pear-shaped or oval, flaked on both faces in such a way as to produce a continuous zig-zag cutting edge. This Madras industry is contemporaneous to the pre-Soan and Soan Cultures. There is even a constant interaction between the two, the core-tool element being strongest in the south, while the chopper types dominate in the north. Both meet halfways around Kurnool. In the site near Allahabad both types are found, but the Madras industry dominates.

The South Indian Palaeolithic cultures belong to a vast Eurafrican form which is called "Chelles-Acheul." It includes Europe, South England, South Africa and Arabia. If the evidence from Swanscombe in England is acceptable as representative of the whole province, the core-tools of Madras could be attributed to a racial form akin to that of Swanscombe man, a pre-*Homo sapiens* form.

It is not known what kind of life these early Palaeolithic men led in India. They must have been nomadic hunters in the tense pluvial forests of the glacial and interglacial periods. Obviously they also used other tools, more perishable so that no trace of them remained. It is not known what use the Soan choppers and the Madras hand-axes were put to. The most striking feature of these Lower Palaeolithic industries is their immense duration, from about 400,000 to the end of the last glaciation, perhaps 10,000 years ago, the stone tools hardly changed at all.

It has been claimed that in the final phases of the Palaeolithic period in India another type of tools appears in the Deccan (from Kurnool in a line to Bombay): it is a slender blade detached from its core. Such industries are characteristic of the final phases of the Palaeolithic in Europe and in certain parts of West Africa. They could possibly be connected with Neanderthal man.

If these conjectures are correct we would have three types of Palaeolithic man in India: The Pithecanthropus of the Soan and Pre-Soan cultures, the pre-Sapiens of Madras industry and the Neanderthal man of blade culture in the Deccan. But so far no fossil finds of any of the three types have been made in any site of India.

Immediately after the Glacial period, we find in Europe, North and East Africa and in Palestine various regional industries or cultures with the tendency to reduce the stone blades manufactured in the earlier period to often absurdly small dimensions. It can be presumed that the stone blades were merely the armament of composite tools, made largely of wood or bone. In a large number of regions in South and Central India, south of the line joining the upper Ganges to the Rann of Cutch, and sporadically elsewhere (in Sind and in north-western Punjab) such stone industries occur.

The traditional opinion is that such microlithic cultures have no connections with the latest phases of Palaeolithic culture in India. It is possible that these microlithic sites in India owe their origin to immigrants from Africa or Europe. In Gujarat skeletons have been found in the same beds, it is alleged, which show Hamito-Negroid characteristics. This would suggest that in the microlithic period a Negroid immigration took place from North Africa. This was 8,000 to 10,000 years ago.

It is certain that these Neolithic industries survived in certain regions at least down to early historical times. But it has not been possible to connect the microlithic cultures with any living primitive tribal group. Nor is it known if the makers of the microliths were mere foodgatherers and hunters or already primitive cultivators. Neolithic large stone axes have been found all over India, but they are surface finds and consequently cannot be dated because their stratification is unknown.

At a somewhat later date a brachycephalic race of Alpino-Dinaric type with round and broad face and long prominent nose is supposed to have immigrated into West India. Its origin can possibly be traced back to South Arabia. From the Pamirs its descended through Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Sind, and spread along the West coast in Gujarat and Kanara; one branch crossed over to Bengal, and in a more southern route over the Deccan to the Tamil country. It left out the Malabar coast.

About the same time or even earlier an agrarian population grew up and began to flourish in Baluchistan and in the Indus Valley. It developed in the course of time into the well-known Mohenjodaro and Harappa civilisation. If this population was of a uniform race in the beginning of this phase, it did not remain so, for the skeletons found in the Indus Valley cities show a mixed racial constitution. These races may have come from Asia Minor or Mesopotamia, and may also have mixed with the earlier inhabitants of the Indus Valley regions in which they developed their great civilisation. As cremation was practised by these people, few skeletons have been found, and these few are not yet completely analysed. It is moreover doubtful if they could give us a representative picture of the racial composition of the Indus Valley population.

B.S. Guha and E. von Eickstedt, however, think that they can distinguish two different types in Mohenjo daro and Harappa: the older one a large brained coarse type of people with heavy brow ridges and an enormous growth of the post-auricular parts of the skull. The younger type is more delicately moulded, with sharp, well-cut features and a fine, narrow nose, slender bodies and smooth eye-brow ridges. Its affinities with the Mediterranean race of Europe are close. This race, according to Guha, is responsible for the higher stages of the Indus Valley civilisation. According to him, the race must have entered largely in the composition of the upper classes of the North-West Indian population. Guha believes that the Nayar of Malabar also belong to this race.

All over South India, south of the river Krishna, we find large megalithic tombs. Megaliths have been found also in North-West India and in North-East Central India. But these megaliths are different and not primarily connected with tombs. They cannot belong to the culture of the megalithic tombs in South India. Who the people were who built these megaliths is still unknown. But they were an agricultural race with a considerably high culture; they had even learned the use of iron.

The racial invasion which in the last phase of prehistoric times caused the most profound change in shaping the culture and history of India was the one associated with the advent of the Vedic Aryans somewhere in the second millenium B.C. Their migrations can be traced to some extent through finds of Gray Ware pottery, now associated with the Aryans. But we have no skeletal remains from ancient India which can be attributed to them, except the remains of monks whose monastery in Taxila was sacked in the 5th century A. D. by the White Huns. The same racial type appears as the dominant element in the various Pathan tribes of the North-West Frontier, in the Kaffir tribes, and in the higher classes of the Punjab, of Rajputana and in Upper India.

Some archaeologists believe that, besides the gradual desiccation of the soil, the Aryan invasion was responsible for the destruction and disappearance of the Indus Valley civilisation. Its traces remained hidden till it was rediscovered some forty years ago. It is absurd to assume that the Aryans, if they were responsible for the ultimate downfall of this civilisation, were able to exterminate the entire Indus Valley population. It is more likely that it survives largely in the population of northern India. Fürer-Haimendorf is of the opinion that untouchability was the product of a city culture. The untouchable castes who in fact reveal a comparatively high standard of culture—many of them are skilled textile and leather workers—would thus be the racial and cultural descendants of the lower strata of the Indus Valley population. And the higher agricultural and artisan castes of northern India would appear as the descendants of the higher strata of this civilisation. For the Aryanisation did not reach very far racially, though it was much more effective culturally (E. von Eickstedt).

B.S. Guha, with the German anthropologist E. Fisher, distinguishes also an oriental type in North-West India, which is dominant in North Afghanistan and from there spread from Dir to Kyber, and from Chitral to West Nepal. It is now found all along the sub-Himalayan regions. This race has a fair skin colour, but black eyes and hair, contrary to the older Aryan type, the nose is markedly long and aquiline. The Moslems of Upper India often represent this type, at least in their higher classes.

It is well known that after the Aryans came the Sakas, the Pahlavas of Persia, the Asiatic Greeks, the Kushans and the Huna, peoples belonging to various races. They left their imprint on the population of North India though they were not strong enough to change its racial composition perceptibly.

Similar racial immigrations took place on the southern West coast of India, in Malabar. It is sufficient to mention the Arabs, Jews and Syrians.

2. *Present-day Primitive Races*

The available evidence about the racial composition and history of the living primitive races of India is equally scanty as the prehistoric evidence. Much research must still be done before a competent and reliable racial history of India can be written. Very little is known regarding the nature and route of migration into India and inside India even after the arrival of the Aryans. Therefore, all attempts at a reconstruction of the racial history of India have to be based on mere conjecture.

In the following we adopt the classification which B.S. Guha gave in the Census of India 1931. Wherever his classification appears to be deficient we shall make the necessary modifications.

(a) *The Negritos.* Guha considers as the earliest racial element in India the Negritos. He believes that the Kadar, Irula and Panyan of South India have a Negrito strain even though he admits that they are not pure Negritos. The German anthropologist E. von Eickstedt agrees with Guha and states that a Negritic component is existing in the Malid subgroup of the South Indian Vedids. But D.N. Majumdar and

S.S. Sarkar deny the existence of any Negrito strain in South Indian aborigines. The small stature of these tribes, their dark skin colour, their occasionally frizzly hair with short spirals—admittedly Negrito elements—are found also in other races. But decisive is, they say, that these tribes are not brachycephalic as the Andamanese, and their bloodgroups show a different proportion. The Indian tribes have a small B incidence whereas it is high among the Negritos.

Guha has to admit that as yet no bone remains of a definitely Negrito race from any prehistoric sites have been excavated. If Negritos ever entered India, as he claims, if they lived here and again disappeared, nothing is known about their original home, the time of their arrival and the reason for their disappearance, whether they died out, were exterminated or assimilated by other races.

E. von Eickstedt calls these Negritos of Guha Proto-Negritos. It is possible that these same Negritos whom Guha postulates are the end-product of the carriers of the Madras culture. Since they remained for many thousand years separated from the other Negritos of southern Asia (of the Andamans, of Malaya and the Philippines), they may have developed into a different race by dropping the high proportion of B in their blood, their brachycephaly, etc. It has been found that the stone implements of the Madras culture have been produced continuously until late in the neolithic period. It would be strange if the carriers of this culture had not survived into the present times, at least in small groups, after they have lived so many thousand years in southern India.

The Pithecanthropines of the Soan Culture, however, must have died out, as they did in China and Java. They certainly left no trace of their racial characteristics in the tribes living in present times in the areas where their stone implements have been found.

The producers of the mesolithic blade culture of the Deccan and elsewhere may or may not have been Neanderthalers. So far no fossil finds of the Neanderthaler type have ever been made anywhere in India. But it is not unlikely that they could be identified with the Proto-

Australoids whom Guha designates as the second-oldest race in India. After all, the Tasmanians, of a similar racial type, had stone implements of the Mousterian type (which has been associated with the Neanderthalers). Similar late-Palaeolithic finds on Ceylon have been ascribed to the ancestors of the Vedda, the Australoid aboriginal race of the island. Today this almost extinct race uses iron in place of stone implements.

(*b*) *The Proto-Australoids*. The second-oldest racial group, according to Guha, is that of the Proto-Australoids. A somatic study of the aboriginal population of India indicates that all these tribes show no marked differences in the shape of the head, the form of the nose, the projection of the face, skin colour and structure of hair. But in Central India and South India there are many of this racial type who have well-developed supra-orbital ridges along with a sunken nasal root. If we compare these tribes with the Veddas of Ceylon and the aborigines of Australia, we find that all three groups are essentially alike, though the Australians are taller and have more marked brow ridges. It would appear that the Indian tribes retained the more basic characters of this race, while the Veddas and the Australians developed some of the features in a more marked manner. All three groups could perhaps be comprised under one heading as Proto-Australoids.

It seems that the whole of the Central and Southern Indian tribes essentially belong to this type, though they may speak different languages. The same can be said of the tribes in Western India and of the partially Hinduised groups in the Gangetic valleys. The Bhils, Kols, Korwas, Kharwars, Mundas, Bhumias and Malpaharias, living in the Central Indian highlands, and the Chenchus, Kurumbas, Yeruvas and Badagas of South India may be regarded as representatives of this race. They vary according to the racial mixture which they have experienced with other racial stock living in the neighbourhood.

E. von Eickstedt, however, does not agree with this classification of Guha. He groups the Proto-Australoids of Guha differently: He has a Veddid race which he subdivides into a South Indian Malid race (from *mala*, meaning mountain) and a Central Indian Gondid race. Then he distinguishes a Melanid race of Europo-Negroid character and origin. Its only difference from the Europoid race of this type is a dark skin. He finds this race in the Carnatic type of the highly civilised South-Dravidas (in Tamilnad) and in the Mundas, Hos and Santals of Chota Nagpur (the Kolid type of the primitive Austro-Asiatics). It is however difficult to understand how the Munda Austro-Asiatics could be grouped with the Tamil Melanids. Guha's theory seems on a sounder foundation, grouping, as he does, all the aboriginal tribes in South and Central India as the Proto-Australoid race. But Guha might be wrong in his assumption that the Mundas, Hos and Santals belong also to the Proto-Australoids. By somatic constitution and language they seem to belong to a different race.

All these tribes are numerically strongest in North-East Central India, in Bihar, Orissa and eastern Madhya Pradesh. It is significant that linguistically they are divided into three groups: those speaking an Aryan dialect (Bhils, Bhilalas, Meos and Minas in the west; the Baigas, Ahirs, Banjaras, Pankas, Ojhas, Pardhans, Bhois or Dhimars, Bharias, Bhumias, Agarias, Binjhwars in the centre; the Dhanwars, Bhainas, Bhuiyas, Kisan-Nagarias, Kawars, Kamars, Bhunjias, Dhobas and Halbas in the east), then those speaking a Munda language (Austro-Asiatic language) and finally those speaking a Dravidian dialect. The tribes speaking an Aryan dialect invariably claim to be the oldest inhabitants of the region. Generally they are also more primitive and less advanced in their material culture. They are more addicted to hunting and to the collection of jungle produce than the two other groups who are primitive cultivators.

The Munda speaking tribes seem to have immigrated next into the same region. It is still unknown from where they came. If the claim of the Aryan speaking tribes is correct that they are the older inhabitants of the region, the Mundas must have immigrated considerably later than 2000 B.C. For we must give some time for the earlier tribes to adopt the Aryan language. S. S. Sarkar is also of the opinion that the Mundas who, in his own words, "do not show any close affinity with the Dravidians," appear to be recent immigrants in this country. They may have entered India without women because they have formed many hybrid groups, like the Khangar Mundas, Kharia Mundas, Konkpat Mundas, Karanga Mundas, Mahili Mundas, Nagabansi Mundas, Oraon Mundas, even Chamar and Bhuiya Mundas.

Much controversy exists about the origin of the Munda language. W. Schmidt (1907) described the Munda languages as a group including the Mon and Khmer languages of Further India. He named this group of languages the Austro-Asiatic Language Group. W. Hevesy tried to connect the Munda languages with Finno-Ugrian. His theory was never accepted. In 1928 R. Heine-Geldern suggested that the Mundas were a Mongoloid people who entered India from the North-East and brought with them a neolithic culture.

Hutton has still another theory: he ascribes the Austric speech to the Kolarian group which entered India "round the west of the Himalayas" and to the Mon-Khmer group which came from the east of the Himalayas. It is not necessary to assume that all present-day Munda-speaking tribes belong also racially to the Munda group. Some small tribes may have adopted the Munda languages through close contact with them.

The third group which we find in the same area of Chota Nagpur and the surrounding districts is that of the Dravida speaking tribes. They entertain the tradition that in former times they lived in the south of India. In fact, the Oraon language shows affinity to Canarese. They arrived as the latest group in this area. This can be proved from the fact that one group of the Mundas was split off by them from the main Munda stock and is today separated from it by hundreds of miles. These are the Korkus of Madhya Pradesh, some 260,000 of them. The Dravida speaking tribes in Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh (Oraons, Khonds, Gonds and Malers), several millions strong, must have been expelled from their southern habitats by a superior race (perhaps the Dravidas?) and were thus forced to invade their present-day habitats. Racially they may belong to the Proto-Australoids, as Guha claims, like the tribes speaking an Aryan dialect and even some tribes now speaking a Munda language.

Down in the South of India the tribal people all speak some form or other of the Dravidian languages, Tamil, Telugu, Tullu, Malayalam or Kanarese. What languages these tribes spoke before the Dravidas entered South India is not known. The local dialects have not been studied sufficiently to decide whether they contain traces of an older language. Was this a Munda language? Here and there we find some local language, still spoken by an isolated small tribe. But these languages have never been studied and compared with larger linguistic groups (Nahali, for instance).

(*c*) *The Tibetan Group.* In the sub-Himalayan region, in Assam and in the lands adjoining the eastern frontiers and Burma we find Mongoloid races. In the plateaus south-east of the Karakorum ranges adjoining Tibet we have the Chiang-pa who are of pure Tibetan origin. The more north-western Ladakhi also shows distinct Mongoloid features (high cheekbones, oblique eye-slits), but also the racial strains of the Oriental race. From the Chiang-pa to the Bhutan Hills north of Assam, the Tibetan strain appears as the dominant element among the Lahoulis, the Limbus, the Lepchas and the Rongpas. The chief characteristics are: medium to tall stature, round broad head and face, high cheekbones and long flat nose, little hair on face and body, and a light brown skin. In Nepal we find the same type in the east and north, but the basic type is non-mongoloid. The Gurungs, Murmis and the Gurkha tribes represent the Mongoloid element.

The racial history of Assam took the following course:

1. The first inhabitants appear to be the Khasis and the Syntengs belonging to the Mon-Khmer language group.

2. Then came the invasion of the Bodo[1] group (Garos, Kacharis, Tipperas, Lalungs, Rabhas, Mechs, head-hunters like the Nagas), from the western mountains.

---

[1] Bod means Tibet.

3. The Nagas came afterwards; they were also natives of north-eastern Tibet, but seem to have reached Assam by the south, driven back by the Kuki-Lushai-Chin populations who followed them (and this movement follows its course even to this day).

To explain this curious circuit, we must assume that first a migration from north to south took place, which was followed by the better evidenced and still continuing migration from south to north. These tribes represent a separate type with a sub-medium height, mesocephalic head, flat face, mesorrhine nose, cheekbones as high, slit-eyes as oblique, and hair as scanty as in the Mongoloid races. Their skin colour is of a brownish yellow. They appear to belong to that great race which entered from South-West China, and whose main body moved through Burma and Malaya to the Indonesian Islands. It left, however, a side-stream in the Assam Hills, such as that represented by the Miri, Bodo and Naga tribes. It underlies also the population of the Assam valley in general, except its higher strata.

4. In the beginning of the Christian era, small groups of Bengalis moved into the plains of Assam in several thrusts and spread there.

There is also a theory that "Pre-Vedic" Aryans had crossed the north of India and Assam and sent out a swarm to western China and to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

5. Lastly, at the beginning of the 12th century A.D., a tribe Thai (or Shan), the Ahoms, invaded Assam coming from Burma. They became the rulers of the whole country and gave their name to the Province (Ahom—Assam).

Assam also houses a number of tribes and peoples who do not enter into the account given of the racial history of India. Their racial position is not well defined. We distinguish among them:

(*a*) The Assamese of the plain, who form a mixed population of Bengalis and Shans.

(*b*) The mountain tribes, whose racial study is too fragmentary to allow us a reconstruction. Perhaps a brachy-cephalic Mongoloid type can be distinguished: the Chakmas of the Tipperah, and the Mog tribes of the Arakan-Yoma Hills.

They are short and rather dark as a race, and came probably also from Burma.

This survey does not take any account of such tribes as, for instance, the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, who cannot be fitted into any of the aforementioned racial types. Recent research, carried out by Prince Peter of Greece, suggests that they have cultural connections with Sumeria.

CHAPTER VI

PREHISTORIC MAN, A FULL-FLEDGED HUMAN BEING

In the third chapter we have followed the gradual development of the human forms from the Lower Pleistocene till the present time. Naturally, many gaps are still left, and many problems still remain unsolved. Nor must we forget that for comparison of the various human forms of prehistoric times we have only the skeletal remains to go on. We know nothing about the other and more important parts of the human body. The mere fact that the skeletal structure of the early prehistoric races is similar to that of the primates is in itself no full proof that these human forms were also in other points of their physical and mental life similar to the primates. So far we have very little evidence as to the constitution of the soft parts of the body, the physical organs, the sensory apparatus, the nerves, brain, etc. And we are almost completely ignorant whether their organism functioned in the same manner as it does in modern man, or in the primates as we find them today.

And what is more, of many prehistoric races we do not even have a full skeleton, in some cases we have only a fragment of the skull, or a jaw-bone, a few teeth. Many theories of the last fifty and even thirty years had to be revised because new finds had disproved them partly or wholly.

It is therefore necessary to proceed with great caution in the reconstruction of the anatomy of prehistoric man. The same caution must be observed in the reconstruction of the origins of human culture. While studying the prehistoric evidence accessible to us we must first of all emphasize that it is not the skeletal structure that makes man a rational being, but the possession and use of his mental faculties. The problem now is which activities of the man-like creatures whose skeletal remains we have found can prove that they were human beings as we are?

Man is distinguished from the animals by four specific abilities: the ability for abstract thinking, the ability of making and using tools, of making and using fire, and the gift of speech.

1. *Ability for Abstract Thinking*

That prehistoric man possessed the ability for abstract thinking cannot be proved by direct observation, but it can be inferred from a study of the prehistoric finds:

(*a*) Already in the Lower Palaeolithic period there is evidence of the performance of sacrifices: the caverns of Wildkirchli and Drachenloch in Switzerland and the Petershoehle near Nuremberg in Germany contain orderly arranged heaps of skulls and long bones of cave-bears. These bones were systematically stored along the walls of the caves protected by low stone walls parallel to the cave walls. Such bones were also found inside rectangular stone chests of undressed stone. Obviously the bears were sacrificed by decapitation and their skulls preserved. Similar sacrifices and disposals of skulls and long bones are known among the Samoyed and Koryak of Siberia.

(*b*) In later periods, especially in the Mousterian period, we find evidence of a cult of skulls at many prehistoric sites. In Saccopastore near Rome, on Monte Circeo, on Gibraltar and La Quina, in Ngandong (Java), Shukbah and Athlit in Palestine, mainly skulls were found without the other parts of the skeleton. The skulls on Monte Circeo show that their owners were killed by blows on the same spot as the victims of more recent headhunters in Borneo and in Melanesia. The holes at the basis of the skulls were enlarged in similar manner as it is done by these headhunters who at the same time practise a ritual cannibalism and devour the brain of their victims.

But even at the ancient site of Chou-ku-tien skulls and jawbones predominate. In such ancient sites this is not necessarily due to cannibalistic habits of these Palaeolithic men; for little or no cannibalism is found by living tribes belonging to a similar level of culture. This preference for skulls and jaw-bones may be due to religious or magic use of the same.

(*c*) Strong evidence is available that at least in later prehistoric periods magic rites were performed. We find, for instance, paintings in caves so dark that they cannot be seen. Consequently these paintings must have had another purpose than decoration of the cave walls and roofs. We also find pictures of masked dancers, sometimes in animal disguise, on the walls. Or we see pictures of animals pierced in back or belly by spears or arrows. These paintings obviously had a magical purpose. We also find statues of women with accentuated breasts and hips. These were probably used for fertility cults. They most likely represented the mother goddess, like the famous "Venus of Willendorf" in Austria. If prehistoric man had religion and magic, he must have been able to think abstractly.

(*d*) Primitive tribes all over the world use the so-called bull-roarer in their initiation ceremonies for the youth of the tribe. Such bull-roarers were recently found in Magdalenian sites in France. It is possible that these Magdalenian tribes used the bull-roarer for a similar purpose. This would again suggest that they possessed the art of abstract thinking.

(*e*) Prehistoric man must have possessed the ability for abstract thinking because he was an artist of rare talent: Already Acheulean stone implements show a perfection of fine and regular shape. Body decoration was common already in the Mousterian period, for earth dyes and the plates for grinding them have been found in this period. But the finest specimens of prehistoric art are found in the cave paintings of the later Palaeolithic period in Europe and North Africa (Magdalenian). In over 90 caves we find paintings and drawings of high artistic value, also sculptures and reliefs. Famous are the caves of Altamira, Trois Freres and Lascaux.

2. *The Making and Use of Tools*

Though man possesses in his bare hands most valuable instruments while he uses his legs and feet exclusively for the purpose of locomotion, he extended this great natural faculty for working with his hands by inventing and cultivating artificial instruments. The invention and use of artificial tools is another proof that tool-using pre-historic man was a full-fledged human being. For every instrument is testimony that the man who made it recognized the relation between cause and effect, and that he for his own utility transformed this relation into one of means and aim (purpose). No mere beast has ever crossed this clear line of demarcation. Animals may use instruments for some momentary affective impulse, but there is no calmly premeditated purpose behind their use. Besides, they never adapt or improve tools for further use. Moreover, already the earliest stone tools found in the Palaeolithic period are standardized tools; which indicates that the men who made them were men with a tradition. They had learned to manufacture these tools in the same manner and shape from their forefathers.

(*a*) *The Pre-lithic Implements of Man.* The oldest implements of pre-historic man, that have come to us, are about 600,000 years old and are made of stone. They are extremely crude. But their great crudeness is no proof that their makers were equally crude and rude beings, perhaps not yet fully evolved from the state of animals. It is possible and even likely that the stone age was preceded by a pre-lithic period when mainly or exclusively bone, tooth and horn implements were used. Such implements, not of equally durable material, may not often have been preserved, except in some places. At Chou-ku-tien, for instance, many bone and antler implements have been found alongside extremely primitive stone implements. The very fact that these implements of the Peking Man are so manifold and diverse makes the opinion attributing a low stage of culture to him untenable. The crudeness of his stone implements is made good by the diversity of his bone and horn implements. In fact, the pre-historic hunters could scarcely have hunted successfully with their crude stone implements; the long bones of deer and carnivorous animals were more effective weapons. But not only at Chou-ku-tien, also in the Drachenloch ob Vaettis in the Tamina Valley in Switzerland, at Krummau in Silesia and in the Petershoehle near Velden-Nuremberg in Germany have similar finds been made. No stone implements whatever have been found together with the human fossils of Pithecanthropus in Java. It is probable that he too used only wood and bone implements which have decayed and could therefore not be found. Excavations made in Germany suggest that also Homo Heidelbergensis knew only bone artefacts. Such a pre-lithic culture can be found even today among the African Pygmies of the Congo and the Negritos of Malaya whose implements are exclusively of wood and bamboo. These they work with shells or other sharp instruments which nature itself provides.

(*b*) *Lithic Implements in Prehistoric Times.* The first stone implements are found in the Lower Pleistocene, that is about 600,000 years ago in the Günz Glacial period (Abbevillean and Clactonean). Later flake tools began to be manufactured: chips knocked off a core. This happened about 400,000 years ago.

From the Middle Palaeolithic period (75,000 years ago) we have more varied implements, such as tools for scraping and chopping, and also spear heads.

In the Upper Palaeolithic period (from 20,000 B.C. onwards) we have a great variety of stone implements.

The first division of the Upper Palaeolithic period is called Aurignacian. It lasted from 18,500 to 13,500 B.C. Its characteristic stone tool is the blade. Bone implements (including awls) are also found, as do objects of personal decoration, such as (perforated) shells, teeth and pendants. Painting, etching and carving make their first appearance in this period.

The Aurignacian period is followed by the Solutrian (from 13,500 B.C. onwards). The distinctive technique of this period is the removal of delicate scales by pressure applied to both sides of the flint blade. These stone implements were then probably attached to bone or wood handles.

The last period of the Upper Palaeolithic, from 12,500 B.C. onwards, is called Magdalenian. In it flint blades cease to be of importance, while work in bone and antler is greatly perfected. We find bone javelins, spear-heads with pointed, bevelled and grooved bases. Also hammers, of stone, naturally, chisels and wedges, as also perforators, make their appearance. Bone needles with an eye in them are a speciality of this period. The harpoon is the typical weapon of the Magdalenian period.

3. *The Making and Use of Fire*

Man alone knows how to generate, control and use fire. Animals do not produce or use fire; they fear it and flee from it. But already in early Palaeolithic times man used fire though we do not know if he also knew how to generate it. We have definite proof that Sinanthropus Pekinensis and Swanscombe man (*ca* 250,000 B.C.) used fire. In the subsequent periods the proofs of the use of fire by prehistoric man become more and more abundant.

No living races, however primitive, are ignorant of the use of fire, though at least two primitive tribes are known who lack the knowledge of producing fire; they are the Andamanese and the Bakongo Pygmies of the Ituri in Central Africa.

The primitives employ various methods of fire making: the fire whirl, the fire plough, the fire saw, percussion of pyrites and flint or a piston. Prehistoric man could have acquired fire when a tree was struck by lightning, when a volcano erupted, when a forest tree was set on fire by spontaneous combustion; or fire making could have been invented by mere coincidence. But most primitives express in their myths the conviction that they received the art of generating and using fire from the Supreme God himself or from a tribal ancestor.

4. *Gift of Speech*

Whether prehistoric man had the gift of speech, cannot be proved. But we can at least assert positively that the skeletal finds of prehistoric man do not exclude the possibility that man was physically capable of speaking. More cannot be said at present. In the Upper Palaeolithic times, however, big game hunting with beaters became common. Organized hunting on such a scale could hardly have been carried out successfully without communication between the hunters through speech.

(*a*) *Language and Speech.* Speech is the general ability of man to make himself understood to his fellow men by means of acoustic symbols. An essential feature of speech is that particular sounds are associated with given situations. The gift of speech is a distinctive mark of man. The faculty of symbolization distinguishes *Homo sapiens*, now as in the past, from all other creatures. Many of the hominoids of today certainly show near-human intelligence, and they have been taught an ever increasing number of marvellous tricks, but they all stop dead at anything involving the use of symbols. Even the most alert and sagacious of all these anthropoid apes have never yet been trained to interpret any kind of sign-symbol, however promptly and intelligently they may have obeyed the elaborate sign-symbols of their keepers. It is this faculty of using and understanding symbols that makes man unique and that marks a clear distinction between the brains of man and beast. Thus man, the only organism that has developed the symbolisms of speech (and writing), is also the only living being that can hand on the fruits of acquired learning from one generation to another. Man has something to tell; an urge which is absent in the animal.

Furthermore, speech requires a meaningful use of an established form of sounds. The meaning of the symbols must be recognized by more than one individual, else speech remains a monologue.

In 1861, Fr. Broca found that the ability of speech is located in the left hemisphere of the brain. The act of speaking is a mechanized habit, but it is purposeful (though not yet in the child). At first an act of will is required; but there is an urge behind it.

However, words are not, as it is commonly believed, a function of our speech-organs; they are artificial, independent things, that is, "tools," and as such need not even be spoken but may as well be written or printed in which case they have no connection at all with the speech-organs. Also the fact that hundreds of different languages exist among men in spite of identical speech-organs shows that the words, although they are built up on the natural sounds of the speech-organs, are not "functions."

Language, on the other hand, is the expression of a psychic process through symbols of any nature perceptible by the senses. The decisive point is that the expression is deliberative, not only by instinct. The first sounds uttered by the child are, of course, not yet speech. They are not purposeful, but just a reflective action. In course of time, however, the child learns to use these cries for words. Language begins when the sound uttered is transformed from a purposeful expression into a deliberative means of communication, when it becomes significant. Language presupposes the ability of forming abstract concepts.

We speak of "animal languages," but use the word in an analogous sense; in reality, animals have no language. Animals do not communicate thoughts, but express only passing emotions. We must beware of reading mental actions into the animals that are really our own reactions to the situation. Animals have no articulate sounds. Moreover, they have no faculty of abstraction, which is the essential element in human language. They are incapable, for instance, of naming rivers or persons. Nor do animals ask questions, a thing which even a child can do.

(*b*) *Origin of Human Speech.* The problem of the origin of human speech cannot be solved by historical investigation. We do not know whether at any time man was still speechless. This problem has been discussed since Plato. The answers given depend on the world outlook of the speaker. Evolutionists who assert the evolution of man from lower forms of life, as a happy coincidence after many misadventures, maintain with Kainz, that the hand created the brain of man and that the control of fire stimulated the brain to think. He follows Locke who said that "there is nothing in the intellect which is not earlier perceived by the senses" (*nihil est in intellectu quod non est in sensu*), but Leibniz adds correctly, "except the intellect itself (. . . *nisi intellectus ipse*)." W. Schmidt maintains that God gave man the ability to develop a language; it is a creation, not an evolution. In any way, it must have been a wonderful discovery when primeval man found that he could utter different sounds by changing the position of his jaws and thus produce different vowels and when he found that through certain manipulations with his tongue, lips, teeth and palate he could produce all the various consonants.

The evolution of speech may have taken place in the following order: At first perception was not immediately associated with a sound complex, but perception of any kind prompted sounds. These sounds were at first pre-reflective, agrammatical, natural sounds, simply exclamations with gestures. Even today, gesturing is still an important part of conversation, especially with some peoples.

But their repetition caused a sensory-motoric connection between certain perceptions and certain sounds. This became a conscious repetition. This caused an awareness for the existence of symbols. The urge for communication caused the speaker to share his experience with a listener. Thus first speech was a pure expression of emotion; later it developed into the communication of perceptions.

In fact, language does not begin with words, but with sentences. The child expresses natural sounds which are interpreted by the adults around him as words. But this is not yet a form of language, only an expression of emotions, of pain or pleasure, as in animals. At the age of three or four months the child begins to babble, and in the following months it develops this babbling into a monologue. From this babbling meaningful speech may have ultimately evolved in the beginning of mankind. Now the baby, at the age of nine or ten months, begins to imitate the speech of its mother, forming words first defectively, then more correctly. These words stand for sentences and express the child's inner feelings.

(*c*) *Language of the Primitives*. Social life in the primitive stage of culture is not restricted to working, eating, dwelling and sleeping together. Its very soul is the mutual communication of the group's thoughts, feelings and desires. This communication of spiritual values is possible only through human speech. Language is thus a necessary and indispensable instrument for social communication. Without the gift of speech human society could not exist.

All human groups, tribes and peoples, in present times and, as far as we know, also in the past have and had at their command fully developed human speech. This cannot of course be proved for the pre-historic peoples, but it can be inferred as even the most primitive tribes ever encountered possess a language and make use of it.

Some scientists, especially in the past, like Speiser of Basle, denied this statement in its generality. They pointed out that, for instance, the Pygmies could not have had a language of their own because they had so completely and eagerly adopted the language of their neighbouring Negro tribes. But several factors disprove this theory: first, the Andamanese, also a Negrito group, possess a language of their own which so far cannot be linked with any other language group. Secondly, the Semang, Negritos of Malaya, though they now speak an old Austro-Asiatic language, still use in their speech an alien prefix formation and many strange words which are probably relics of their old original language. Thirdly, the African Pygmies who now speak Bantu dialects had formerly a language of their own, as P. Schebesta and van Bulck have proved convincingly. Fourthly, the Philippine Negritos chant songs in their nightly celebration in a language which they themselves do not understand any more and which is not connected with any existing language group.

Also other primitive tribes, like the Tierra del Fuegians, the North-Central Californians, the Algonquians, the Salish, the South-East Australians (Kurnai, Kulin) and the Tasmanians possessed and possess languages of their own. So far it cannot be proved that any connection exists between the languages of these isolated foodgathering tribes. But these languages have not yet been studied sufficiently.

Languages are commonly divided into three groups: monosyllabic, agglutinative and flexional. A fourth group is added by some linguists: the polysynthetic.

(*a*) The monosyllabic languages (Chinese, for instance) have neither gender nor plural; they express numbers by adverbs; verbs are formed in the simplest way conceivable by placing together a personal pronoun and an adjective.

(*b*) The agglutinative languages (Finnish-Ugrian, Turk and Mongolian) form their words by affixing the formative elements without change of the root.

(*c*) The flexional languages have an inflexion at the end of the verb in the form of a pronominal suffix.

(*d*) The polysynthetic languages join a number of ideas in one long word which is virtually a sentence. The languages of the North-American Montagnais belong to this group.

All the languages of the primitive tribes that are original show certain characteristics which suggest their high age. For instance, these primitives have not completely exhausted all possibilities for the formation of meaningful sounds. Thus they are deficient in the modified vowels ö and ü, while they already have the normal vowels a, e, i, o and u. They also lack the fricative sounds s (z), f (w), and x (y). Nor do they distinguish between b and p, d and t, g and k, so that these consonants heard by inexperienced investigators are understood once as voiced and at other times as vioceless.

Their words have no composition of consonants, except in the case of a consonant followed by r or l before a vowel (*muta cum liquida*). The final sound need not always be a vowel, except in the Tasmanian languages where this is the rule, but in all other languages the words may end in a vowel or in a consonant, as in the South-East Australian languages, in which we even have words ending in a lk, nk, nt and so on.

But with this somewhat limited means of speech at their disposal the primitives are able to express all they want to say: their languages include words that connote general ideas; they can form sentences to express a statement on the subjects they deal with, and they can group such sentences to reach a conclusion, and to follow this up so as to set forth in orderly manner some further groups of sentences.

Even the most primitive races are able to use their language for the invention of literary products full of deep meaning in their myths, legends and folktales, songs and riddles.

The simplicity of their language forms guarantees also for their greater facility and clarity in use. They do not yet add special affixes to their substantives to class them into various groups or genders (animate or inanimate, masculine or feminine, personal or impersonal, etc.). They also do not yet feel the necessity for concordance of adjectives, verbs, numerals, etc. with substantives, which, after all, make the syntax of a language difficult and make fluent and familiar talk difficult. This is probably the reason why such complications have later become more and more obsolete in such highly developed languages as, for instance, in English.

These primitives have often a dual system in personal pronouns, based on the pair of eyes, ears and limbs, and the pair in a monogamous marriage. However, the numerals rarely go beyond the words for 1 and 2. They have as yet no large number of things to enumerate. 3 and the following numbers are usually formed by combination of 1 and 2; numbers above 5 and 6 are already "much." In more developed languages the names of fingers, toes, wrist, elbow, shoulder, chin, ear, etc., are taken to connote numbers, usually beginning to count with the little finger of the left hand.

5. *Conclusion*

We hope that we have now proved satisfactorily by inference that prehistoric man possessed the faculty of abstract thinking, that he made tools and used them, that he knew how to make fire and how to use it, and—probably—that he had the gift of speech. All these activities are already manifestations of true human culture. In fact, as soon as we meet human beings, we also find them possessing and developing culture.

We are therefore fully justified in rejecting the ape-like features of early man's anatomy as a possible proof of his brutish mental stage but must stress the importance of the products of his cultural activity. We must also bear in mind that by far the greatest portion of his cultural products are irretrievably lost, because they were of perishable material.

If we now compare the tools and implements of early prehistoric man with those of some living primitive races, we may say that he compares favourably with them. For the latter are partly even now in the pre-lithic stage of culture, while palaeolithic man already much earlier fashioned stone implements (however crude). And yet these pre-lithic living primitives are full-fledged men with an original and well-developed culture. Thus it seems justified to attribute the same range of mental faculties to early palaeolithic man. The mere fact that he left no traces of his mental culture and spiritual outlook is no criterion that he did not possess them.

CHAPTER VII

PREHISTORIC MAN AND LIVING PRIMITIVE RACES

THE information which can be gleaned from the scanty relics of prehistoric man, though incomplete and full of gaps, provides at least some insight into early man's social institutions and religion. But we ask ourselves if there is no other access to a fuller knowledge of prehistoric man's mind and mentality.

Such an access is indeed open to us. Prehistory has proved that, for thousands of years in the Palaeolithic period, the material culture of man changed very little. This constancy of prehistoric economic life justifies the assumption that the mind of prehistoric man remained much the same and also his mental outlook did not change much during this period. And we are the more justified in this assumption because we know from the study of many primitive and even civilised peoples, that constancy in social and religious beliefs and customs is even greater than that in material and economic spheres of life.

We find a number of tribes, or at least tribal groups, living in so-called retreat (or marginal) areas. They have refused to yield to outside influence exerted by superior cultures, to a change of climate or environment and, instead of changing their culture, they have clung to their original mode of life and preferred to retreat rather into more inaccessible parts of the continents. Thus they have been able to retain a very old way of living and thinking, which, in the case of the food-gatherers, may go back to that of the Palaeolithic peoples, while other tribes have been arrested in their cultural advance in stages resembling more closely that of the mesolithic hunters or that of the neolithic agrarian peoples.

What makes them refuse a change of culture, is in many cases still an unsolved psychological puzzle. Nor is it certain that all these peoples will forever remain in their primitive stage. Indeed, the revolutionary changes which take place among primitive cultures in present times prove that many of them are capable of cultural advance if they are mentally prepared for it.

Among some foodgathering tribes their arrested cultural growth may have been due to adverse environmental and geographical conditions, or due to bad climate, or to unfavourable psychological reasons, excessive love of freedom, conservatism, nomadic habits, but also to a lack of leaders, their small numbers, to frequent illness and starvation. On the other hand, it is well known that many nomadic herders consider their way of living the most superior, and they look down with contempt on agriculturists. And tillers of the soil often look down on artisans or traders. Such peoples are mentally not prepared to change their way of living, even if it would mean cultural progress.

This does not of course exclude a certain inevitable amount of change in culture. Even the few foodgathering tribes left on the globe, though least accessible to cultural change, have also in the course of time adopted some elements of superior cultures or have themselves created new forms of culture. Many have exchanged their original language, to quote one instance, for the language of their culturally more advanced neighbours.

It is the task of anthropology, as a historical science, to study the complete history of each tribe and to discover all the phases of its cultural development down to its prehistoric past. This study can be done, today, from two directions: the anthropologist may start from the culture of the living primitive races and follow its evolution back into its remotest prehistoric past, while the prehistorians may start with prehistoric culture and follow its gradual development up to the historical time.

While the founders of the culture-historical school of Anthropology believed that the present primitive tribes could be classified according to a neat scheme of intercontinental compact culture-circles, this idea has been largely abandoned by their followers. It is now admitted that each tribe and culture has taken its own independent development which cannot be pressed into a too rigid and comprehensive scheme. However, the intensive research now carried out in all continents on so many newly discovered prehistoric sites on the one hand, and among almost all living primitive peoples on the other, should enable us to connect and coordinate in ever increasing number, the prehistoric races and their living primitive counterparts.

This may permit us, with at least some degree of certainty, to draw definite and reliable conclusions from non-material forms of culture of the living primitives to corresponding forms of culture of the prehistoric races though we possess of them only evidence of their material culture. This cooperation between prehistory and anthropology may produce a consistent and comprehensive picture of the whole development of human culture from its earliest accessible time till the present day. Generalizations about cultural traits may certainly have their limitations, and, in fact, the extreme variety of details may often obscure basic conformities. Nevertheless, conformities do exist and thus limited generalizations are permissible. It is largely a matter of method whether we emphasize more the conformities, or lay more stress on differences and individual peculiarities. For the sake of a comprehensive, all-round picture we prefer to emphasize the conformities.

1. *The Foodgatherers*

If we now ask what living tribes resemble in their cultural life most closely the oldest prehistoric peoples, we find the answer in the so-called foodgatherers. These mere food collectors and primitive hunters treat the resources of nature as a mere reservoir. They have not yet learned or abstained deliberately from, either tilling the soil or raising animals, except the dog. They are everywhere on retreat before the more advanced cultures and scattered here and there over the habitable globe, isolated from the currents of wider cultural intercourse, hidden away in remote jungles, deserts, mountain fastnesses or dense forests, or clinging to the tips of archipelagos and continental land masses. They are often spoken of as the "marginal peoples," on account of both their cultural and their geographical position.

However, we must study these tribes closely before we accept them as genuine foodgatherers. For some tribes are now mere foodgatherers and primitive hunters though in former times they possessed, as can be proved, a higher form of culture and reverted to this most primitive stage of economy for various reasons. Such a tribe is, for instance, the Seminoles of Florida (North America). They were originally an agrarian tribe, but deprived of their land, they are now living as mere food collectors. Such people cannot be classified as foodgatherers, because they already possess a form of mental culture which corresponds to a more developed economic life.

But even the foodgatherers in the proper sense of the word have in the course of so many millenia changed, not only due to a change of environment or climate, but also through cultural influence from more advanced neighbours or through their own cultural creativeness. But on the whole these changes were only slight and they have preserved their original culture as mere foodgatherers and hunters remarkably intact. Since they lived in small groups, men with extraordinary talents and capable of pushing cultural advance had little scope for development; further, their nomadic life discouraged economic progress and an accumulation of goods; and their preoccupation with mere food collection and hunting left little time and leisure for new inventions and improvements. Moreover, these tribes valued their liberty and independence so highly that they refused to accept the most elementary restrictions necessary for the procurement of greater comforts and the improvement of living conditions.

A list of the living nomadic foodgathering tribes would include:

In Africa: the Pygmies (the West Pygmies in French Congo; the Gabun and Cameroon Pygmies; the East Pygmies of the Belgian Congo; the Bambuti on the Ituri); the Pygmoid tribes: the Bachwa along the equator, the Batwa east of the Kivu Lake; some Bushmen tribes in Angola and South Africa. The latter, however, have preserved only certain traits of this culture, not the whole Pygmy culture. Even the pure Pygmy tribes have cultural elements, as, for instance, the belief in the existence of a spiritual and impersonal force and group totemism, which prove that they have already advanced beyond the cultural level of mere foodgatherers. To the culture of mere foodgatherers belong also the Kindiga, Sandawe and Ndorobbo of East Africa, and the Mountain Dama of South-West Africa.

In Asia we find foodgathering tribes widely scattered over India, Malaya and the adjoining islands. In India food gathering tribes are found mainly in the south: the Kadar, Malapantaram, Paliyan, Irula, Panyan, Yanadi, and Kurumba; the Chenchu in the Deccan; the Katkari in Bombay State and a few tribes in central and northern India (Birhor, Korwa, etc.).

East of India we have the Asiatic Pygmies or Negritos: the Andamanese, the Semang in the interior of the Malaya Peninsula, the Negritos or Aeta on Luzon, Negros, Panay and Mindanao of the Philippines. Then there are other Asiatic groups conforming to this stage of culture: the almost extinct Vedda of Ceylon (Pygmoids), the Senoi of Malakka (Pygmoids), the Punnan on Borneo, the Kubu on Sumatra and the Toala on Celebes, who are all a mixture of Veddoid and Palaeo-Mongoloid racial traits. We may add to this culture also the Sleb of Arabia who are pure hunters and are held in contempt by the camel-breeding Bedouins; the Mangyan on Mindoro (Philippines) and the Ainu of Japan and Sachalin. The latter have largely abandoned the culture of the foodgatherers.

In Australia the south-eastern tribes, such as the Kurnai and Kulin, the now extinct Tasmanians belonged to this culture, as also the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi and the Yuin-Kulin.

In South America the Yamana or Yagan, the Halakwulup or Halakaluf, the Selknam or Ona, are foodgatherers.

In North America foodgathering tribes can be found in North-Central California (Yuki and Maidu); the Algonquian tribes of the north-eastern and central parts of their habitat belong more or less to this cultural level, as also the Inland Salish on the Rocky Mountains and in British Colombia. Some arctic tribes may be included in the foodgathering stage of culture though in some other aspects they must be considered to have reached the stage of advanced hunters: such as the Samoyed, the Koryak, Gilyak, Ostyak, Wogul of Siberia and the Caribou Eskimos.

About their material culture and economic life not much need be said. We must again emphasize that the extreme primitivity and simplicity of the material culture of the foodgatherers cannot be regarded as proof of their mental backwardness. This would be a false evaluation. Moreover, our judgments about the cultural values of primitive man are often coloured by the biased views formed on the basis of our own traditions. The foodgatherers often reject the higher material culture if it can only be acquired with the loss of personal freedom and independence which they value most.

The economy of the foodgatherers is almost completely self-sufficient. Utensils, tools and weapons are so simple and unadorned that every individual can manufacture them. The necessary utensils are manufactured only to serve man's immediate or proximate needs. When the need arises the foodgatherer produces such articles as, for instance, a fire saw or a digging stick. He produces clothing apparel when he is in need of it. Ornaments he considers a luxury and of them he possesses only a few. They are mainly ornamental shells, animal's teeth, feathers, etc. He fashions tools and weapons like spearheads, arrow-heads, bows, fishhooks, etc. when he is in need of them.

Being economically quite independent and with few demands for goods he cannot manufacture himself, trade and barter are only weakly developed.

In the oldest primitive culture we find predominantly long-range weapons such as the bow and arrow, throwing stick and boomerang, while short-range weapons like clubs, parrying sticks, spears, are rarer. Weapons are used mainly for hunting, rarely for fighting. The tools and weapons are made usually of wood and bone, and sometimes of stone. In fact, some of the Pygmy tribes and Pygmoids belong to a prelithic culture, of which we have only faint traces in prehistory. Tasmanians, and peoples of the boomerang culture, used stone implements resembling those of the Mousterian period.

Many of these tribes are proficient in basket weaving. They use the spiral coil technique, at least the North-Central Californians do, and the Yamana, less frequently the African Pygmies. They use skins for various purposes, for clothing, quivers, pouches, and water vessels. The skins are not tanned. Pottery is unknown, except among the Batwa of the Congo, the Vedda, the Andamanese and the Bushmen. They may have learned the art from their neighbours.

Their dwellings consist of windbreaks or beehive huts. But the Andamanese, again, have built more solid and larger huts. Caves are used as dwellings by very few food gathering tribes, the Vedda and the Toala of Celebes.

Their transportation on water is done by raft or boat, which is usually of bamboo or boughs. Thus in California reed boats of balsa are used, in Tierra del Fuego rafts and bark canoes, in the Lake area of North America birch-bark canoes. Only the Andamanese use canoes hewn of tree trunks. In the arctic area they use the snow-shoe and the sledge.

The economic life of the nomadic foodgatherers proves their truly human intelligence and ingenuity and reveals the difference between man and the animal in procuring food. Man in procuring food fulfils a cultural function, while the animal only satisfies its instinctive craving. Man acts as an intelligent and social being; he uses tools and weapons. And he has to. Physically often ill-adapted to his environment (in the arctic zone, or in the desert), primitive man would not be able to survive if he lived like the animals and followed only his instincts.

The economic life of the foodgatherers is simple but rational. Nature is not everywhere bountiful, therefore the foodgatherers live in small groups dispersed over large areas, which provide sufficient game and vegetable food for their subsistence. The way they procure their food, though simple, is not haphazard or without plan. There is on the other hand no need for complicated methods, or of time-saving devices or more efficient tools. In fact, the foodgatherers have ample time and energy.

The economic life of the foodgatherers necessitates a continuous change of residence, though within a well-defined and ample living space. This change of habitation is however not aimless, nor is the choice of food indiscriminate, though there is as yet no food production.

Economic foresight is not well developed. Because the foodgatherers are often on the move, they cannot store food, except in small quantities and in a very elementary manner;

thus the Andamanese roast things and store meat in bins of bamboo; the Vedda dry meat in the open air or preserve it in honey; the North-Central Californians store acorns in silos; the Sakai store honey in bamboo containers. But usually surplus food is disposed of by sharing it with others, creating thereby a moral claim for surplus food collected in future times by the receiving party. The absence of food storage results in the impossibility of any larger accumulation of wealth.

The extremely elementary economy of the foodgatherers has of course its disadvantages: it makes cultural progress institutionally impossible. But, on the other hand, it gives a feeling of independence of time, place, of material things and of fellow men. The foodgatherers seem to have a keen longing for utter freedom and do not want to exchange it for greater economic security and amenity.

This, in short, is the economic life and material culture of the few mere foodgathering and hunting tribes that are still living on this earth. It is reasonable to assume that the economic life and material culture of prehistoric man in the Palaeolithic period conformed to a great extent to this pattern. It was for more than 500,000 years the uniform mode of life for prehistoric man. Today a few small tribes still follow this kind of life. In a few years they too will have died out or adopted a "superior" form of culture.

2. *The Foodproducers*

(*a*) *Advanced Hunting Cultures*. While the foodgathering stage of culture in this simple and primitive form prevailed throughout the Lower Palaeolithic period, a clear advance in human economy set in during the Upper Palaeolithic period, perhaps 70,0000 years ago, when in some regions prehistoric man invented superior hunting methods and manufactured more effective weapons. Stone tools began to be more skilfully made, and now also traps and nets were used for hunting, and hooks and lines for fishing. The construction of canoes, skis and sledges also harks back to this period.

In this age man displayed not only a greater variety of technical skills but also showed progress in hunting methods.

Characteristic for the form of economy in this Palaeolithic period is the common hunt in which a group of men joined. Now animals like the rhinoceros and mammoth, reindeer and aurox, nasicorn and cave bear, were hunted; it was obviously impossible for the individual hunter to kill any of these animal giants without the cooperation of companions; it could only be done in collective hunting. The form of economy of the Later Ice Age consequently necessitated the organization of wider social groups.

Many living primitive tribes all over the world have still retained this same way of living. They specialize in an intensive hunting activity and use highly specialized hunting methods; they possess very effective weapons and generally concentrate on certain types of game. Other such tribes have now adopted agriculture as an additional occupation, but basically their culture is still that of advanced hunters.

In these cultures, prehistoric or present-day, the hunting methods are more varied than in the simple stalking of game by the lonely foodgatherers. Now the game is stealthily approached, often in animal disguise. So do certain North American tribes when hunting deer and the Bushmen of South Africa when hunting ostriches. Paintings in Palaeolithic caves prove that the hunters in those times used identical methods. In the arctic zone, which resembles the Ice Age, wild reindeer are hunted by beaters and the game is driven into funnels of land necks. Then the reindeer are killed from the rivers or the sea by hunters approaching in boats. In other parts of the world, in aboriginal Australia, for instance, game is chased till the animal surrenders through exhaustion. All these tribes use also a great variety of traps. Some poison weapons (spear and arrowheads), others poison the waterplace frequented by game, while some stick arrows with the tops, that may be poisoned, upwards into the ground in places frequented by game.

In all these living tribes hunting is the task of the males, except in beats when also women may be employed. During the hunt women have usually to observe certain taboos. Otherwise their life resembles much that of the women in the foodgathering stage of culture; much of their time is spent in the collection of vegetable food stuff or in primitive cultivation.

Life among the tribes which earn their livelihood mainly by hunting is still nomadic. The wandering animals (especially the reindeer in the North) force man to a nomadic life. But prehistoric Eurafrica seems to have been so abundant in game that it allowed greater stability to the hunters.

The whole economic life of these advanced hunters is based on the hunt, their food, clothing, habitation and mode of life. The Plain Indians of North America are a good example of this. They lived on the buffalo. It was food for them, shelter and clothing. They used its hide for robes, bedding, moccasins, leggings, lodge covering and round bull boats. The tough skin on the neck was made into war shields and the ribs were used as runners for dog sleds. Hoofs made glue, the stomach lining made water buckets, the horns were carved into spoons and sometimes bows.

Technical progress in the manufacture of the hunting weapons is marked in this culture. Long range weapons prevail, such as the bow and arrow, the harpoon, spears with teeth, spear throwers, and tomahawks. These weapons and tools are often artistically ornamented.

The clothing of these tribes depends much on the climate of their habitats. The African and Australian hunters go usually completely naked; in the cold north the hunters wear trousers and jackets with long sleeves and shoes (moccasins). For material they use the skins of the animals slain in the hunt.

The habitation of the hunting tribes in Eurafrica is (or was) the beehive hut or the domed hut. In more stable hunting and fishing cultures round houses with conical roofs predominate; in the unstable North, tents are in vogue; they are of a similar shape. Often they are covered with skins. The Eskimos build even today their igloos of snow, in the form of a beehive hut or domed hut; they are half-subterranean dwellings.

The people of these hunting cultures have a flair for decoration and ornaments. Of these they have a great variety; some of them are undoubtedly of high artistic value. They wear for personal decoration chains, armlets, anklets, bands, earrings. Characteristic are disks worn on the chest—symbols of the sun—which have magic or cultic significance. Red body dyes are also popular, symbolising the morning sun. We find them among the Red Indians, the Australians and the tribes of ancient Europe. Some wear elaborate coiffures, which require a neckrest for the night.

Their means of transportation are much the same as that of the tribes in the foodgathering stage of culture, namely, sledges, snow shoes for the North; skin-boats and birch-bark boats for the water.

The demand for greater perfection of weapons and implements in this type of culture resulted in a greater professional specialization. This led to intensive barter and trade. Even markets were held where various goods could be exchanged.

(*b*) *The Primitive Agrarian Cultures.* The stage of material culture characterized by advanced methods and means of hunting and more effective weapons and implements continued more or less unchanged for another ten or twelve thousand years. But towards the end of the Palaeolithic period, about 9,000 B.C., as excavations show, the hunters began to supplement their meat diet increasingly by plant foods of wild berries, seeds and wild fruits. Flint sickles found at Mount Carmel suggest that cereals were harvested and eaten by Mesolithic cave dwellers probably before 6000 B.C.

As yet no deliberate food cultivation was inaugurated. It was the period of harvesting without sowing. It is not known how long this transition period lasted. Such harvesting tribes, after all, are still found in all five continents. Their food supply is mainly derived from the harvesting of one or a few wild plants, which provide their chief sustenance for the entire year. In East, South and North Australia we find several such tribes. In New Guinea many tribes live off the wild sago palm while in Polynesia the wild bread-fruit tree is the main food provider for quite a number of tribes. They lead a comparatively sedentary life and stay together in large communities. While such tribes are now rare in Africa, old reports suggest that in the past harvesting played an important part also in the economy of certain African tribes.

Only tribes which harvested without sowing, but harvested in exactly the same manner as the agrarian tribes now do, can have invented agriculture. The mere hunters and foodgatherers are averse to a sedentary life and to cultivation. This has been proved repeatedly by futile attempts to "settle" such tribes. Attempts of missionaries to settle the wild Indian tribes in Paraguay, in Africa and on the Philippines, by the Brazilian Government to win over the Bororo to agriculture, by social workers and reformers in India, have all failed. In India a number of such tribes (like the Chenchu in Andhra, Pardhi in Central India and Sansi, etc. in Uttar Pradesh) turned into "criminal tribes" when they could not find their livelihood through mere foodgathering, but they would not take to cultivation. They were not psychologically prepared for such a change of life.

The place where mere harvesters changed into cultivators and horticulturists cannot be determined today, although many indications suggest that it happened in the southern or central regions of Asia. This change could have taken place in several regions of Asia and even in different continents where conditions were favourable. Our knowledge of extinct cultures is still too imperfect; more excavations in the Near East, in Africa and America may solve this problem.

Nor can it be stated with any degree of certainty when exactly this revolutionary step from mere foodgathering and harvesting to food-growing and food-producing took place. Most probably it occurred at much the same time in several places when prehistoric man was ripe for it.

It seems that agriculture started in three different forms: as horticulture (cultivation of trees like the sago palm, the bread-fruit tree, etc. and of tubers like yam, tapioca, taro and others), as slash-and-burn cultivation (also called shifting cultivation, because of the growing of various grains and vegetables in ever changing plots of land) and as plough cultivation (combined with animal breeding).

The plantation and cultivation of trees and tubers was most likely invented in regions where these trees and tubers once grew wild, that is, in the tropical and subtropical regions.

It is yet impossible to point out the exact spot where this happened and when.

The peculiar form of cultivation, which is called slash-and-burn cultivation, prevailed till present times in the jungles of southern Asia and India, where rainfall is heavy. A field is prepared by burning the forest and sowing in the fertile ashes. No plough is necessary in this type of cultivation; therefore no domesticated cattle were required for the plough. These primitive cultivators were and still are half-nomadic. They supplement their grown food largely by hunting (male occupation) and by the collection of wild-growing vegetable food (female occupation). Thus life remains on a more or less similar pattern as in the foodgathering stage of culture. Only with the introduction of the plough is the transformation of a culture into an agrarian one completed.

The slash-and-burn cultivation is of course impossible without an effective implement for cutting down the trees and bushes. Before the invention of metal implements this posed a problem. R. Heine-Geldern claims that a suitable stone implement originated about 5,000 B.C. in southern Central Asia, probably China, and spread from there all over southern Asia and India. He calls it a cylindrical hoe, with a sharpened blade at one end and a round or conical back at the other. The culture which produced this axe or hoe is the oldest Neolithic basis of productive agrarian economy.

An early centre of plough cultivation was undoubtedly the subtropical zone which includes North Africa, Syria, Iran and Turkestan. Excavations at Jarmo in Iraq, for instance, prove the existence of a well-established, permanently housed group of farmers and animal breeders in 4,500 B.C. They were growing two varieties of wheat and a legume and had domesticated sheep, goats, pigs, cattle and an equid. Remains of similar peasant cultures have been excavated also elsewhere in Mesopotamia, in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and southern Europe.

New excavations by R.S. MacNeish in Tamaulipas (north-eastern Mexico, U.S.A.), seem to prove the independent origin of an agrarian culture in this part of America; it also grew from mere harvesting of wild-growing beans and pumpkins into a deliberate cultivation of these plants. This development took place between 4000 and 2300 B.C.

The material culture and the technical equipment of the present primitive cultivators vary considerably. This can easily be explained; for some of the agrarian cultures developed out of the foodgathering stage of culture while others took to farming after they had already reached the stage of advanced and specialized hunting. The latter were much more skilled in the manufacture of their weapons and implements, while the foodgathering tribes who later took to farming remained on a lower level of material culture. The highest level of material culture was naturally achieved by those cultivators who combined cultivation with animal breeding and soon invented plough cultivation.

Naturally, once change and progress had set in, the momentum was carried further and progress continued in many tribal communities. Peoples of various cultures mixed, or adopted at least certain traits from each other. Specific cultural elements were adopted widely by a great number of tribes and travelled over wide distances, already in prehistoric times. So is the blow-gun known in South America as well as in Malaya where it is more recent; megaliths have found an even larger expansion over the world; the cult of the mother-goddess has been readily adopted by many tribes, even though they did not practise agriculture.

While the horticulturists and shifting cultivators may here and there have retained the digging stick of the food-gatherers, their typical farm implement is the hoe which consists of a stone, shell or horn (in modern times iron) blade, at right angles to a wooden handle. That is why these cultures are often called "hoe cultures." Even today vast regions of the earth are covered by these cultures, especially in tropical Africa, America, Indonesia and Oceania.

The typical weapons of these primitive cultivators are the spear, the spear thrower, the club and the broad shield. Other characteristic inventions are the friction drum, the pan-pipe, the musical bow and the xylophone. For ritual purposes they also manufacture plastic animal masks and wear towering coiffures for decoration; typical for them are sickle-shaped ornaments—symbols of the moon. The women are generally experts in wickerwork; they use the spiral-coil technique. It is probable that the invention of pottery was made in the more advanced cultures of this type. A congenital connection between basketry and pottery is likely.

In regions where pottery is yet unknown, the primitive cultivators still use the earth oven. Typical for them is the use of the fire-saw for fire-making. They use mainly bamboo utensils and a hafted axe (the blade wedged into the handle).

For transportation on water they use plank boats; outriggers are not yet known. These boats are less used for fishing, but are important in river valleys for the transport of passengers and for freight service.

The plough cultivators, who were at the same time also the first tamers and breeders of various animals, had already in prehistoric times a considerable variety of implements, utensils and weapons. A permanent house, bed, chair and table as furniture, and pottery are some of their first achievements. Combined with skill in handicrafts and a tendency to work with new forms and materials, they laid the foundations for a rapid advance in material culture which culminated in the creation of the world's first great civilizations. We find them in Mesopotamia as well as in Central America. Naturally, this progress also stimulated the development of social life and of more advanced and complicated social forms. It also resulted in the growth of new religious cults and created a new spirituality and world outlook, and brought about a new flourishing of the arts.

(*c*) *The Animal Breeding Cultures.* Nomadic Pastoralism must be distinguished from animal domestication combined with farming. Agrarian communities began first to domesticate animals between 8000 and 6500 B.C., probably in the Middle East and Palestine. Nomadic Pastoralism is a later development and resulted in the formation of a peculiar mental attitude.

The domestication and breeding of animals began almost certainly in various phases and in different regions. The first that could be tamed was the dog. Since most foodgathering tribes have dogs, this must have happened very early. Many millenia ago reindeer were also tamed in the forests of Siberia. But this did not lead to the development of a typical reindeer herding culture at that time. The old reindeer hunters were content with keeping a herd of wild animals in wide enclosures to ensure a steady food supply. Gradually the animals grew tamer and became used to the nearness of human beings. Some tribes in Siberia still practise this form of herding. But reindeer domestication and breeding, in the full sense of the word, developed much later (among the Samoyed of Sajan), perhaps only in the first or second century A.D. and was stimulated by an earlier horse breeding culture of Turc tribes in the neighbourhood.

The domestication and breeding of animals as a special and new economy occurred probably in Western Asia in the sixth millenium B.C. The first animal breeders were Mesolithic and early Neolithic hunters and food collectors whose women practised at the same time the harvesting or even cultivation, of grains like wheat and barley. The first domesticated animals were sheep, pig, goat, cattle and the horse. Remains of such peasant cultures have been excavated in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and southern Europe.

So far the first pure animal breeding culture was found in Inner Asia (Afanasjevo) in the Minussinsk-Altai region (with cattle, sheep and horse breeding) and most probably must be attributed to immigrants from southern Russia. From the Altai region animal domestication (of sheep, horse and cattle) spread after about 2000 B.C. among the hunting tribes of Mongolia (at Lake Baikal), in Kazakhstan and in Siberia. In western Asia, too, there arose pure nomadic animal breeders who, from 1900 to 1700 B.C. under Indo-European leadership, specialized in horse-breeding, because they required these animals for their war chariots. The Kassites, Hittites and Mitanni were such tribes. The use of the horse for the chariot spread over Europe, North Africa and over Central Asia to East Asia where it brought the Shang Dynasty to power in China.

Horse riding developed later, about 1500 B.C., in the mountains south of Siberia. Riding horse breeders and warrior tribes consolidated their cultures between 1200 and

800 B.C. in Central Europe and the Balkan, on the one hand, and in Transcaucasia on the other. From 900 to 700 B.C., such riding horse breeders fought either in the service of, or against, the West-Asiatic high civilisations (Assyria, etc.). With their ultimate retreat into the steppes of Eurasia they took along with them cultural achievements (like the use of metal, a hierarchical social order, etc.) of these high civilizations. In the subsequent centuries new nomadic horse-breeding peoples came into existence in Inner Asia, in North China and in Mongolia. In the Transcaucasian steppe the animal breeders have survived to the present day. In Kazakhstan (USSR) alone live about 6 million of them.

While camel breeding began in a sporadic and primitive form about 1500 B.C. in Arabia, it was intensified in the 13th century B.C. and resulted in the evolution of the typical Bedouin culture. Later this culture expanded to Iran and North Africa (Sahara). Camel breeders survived until today mainly in the arid steppe of Iran and the Arabian desert; about 750,000 is their present strength. In the Sahara live about a million animal breeders, and nearly 750,000 in Somalia (East Africa). Their habitats are mainly arid lands unsuited for cultivation. Camel breeding is often combined with sheep and goat breeding, less with horse breeding. These desert nomads rely on the camel not only for their food—milk and milk products—but also use it as carriers of merchandise. They earn their livelihood also as protectors of caravans and as suppliers of pack animals.

The domestication of the Asiatic camel and of the yak took place probably in connection with sheep, cattle and horse domestication in Inner Asia. It had no independent origin.

The camel breeders of North and East Africa are certainly an off-shoot of the Bedouin camel breeders. But the East and South African cattle breeders may have developed their cultures independently as earlier pure hunters or agriculturists.

Animal breeding cultures are thus far from uniform. Nearest to the foodgathering stage of culture are the pastoral nomads of north-eastern and northern Asia, though they too are somewhat influenced by agrarian cultures, and still more by elements of totemistic hunting cultures. The advanced animal breeders of Central Asia have, or at least had in the past, a very complex and mixed culture, because they had adopted many traits of West-Asiatic city cultures (with agrarian culture elements). But it can still be maintained that basically they share many common traits with the more primitive pastoral nomads.

In Asia exclusive pastoralism necessitates seasonal wanderings with the herds from summer to winter camps, sometimes also to spring and fall pastures which are owned by groups of families. In Africa (the Nuer of the Sudan, for instance) there may be a change from dry season to rainy season camps. In India, the Kanadis, a shepherd caste in Nasik District of the Deccan, have different grazing grounds in the dry season and during the monsoon.

In Central and North Asia we find a flat steppe nomadism (in the Mongolian, Turkestan and Volga steppes) and a mountain and upland nomadism (on the Altai, the Tienshan and the Pamir). Not only do they raise and breed different animals, but also their methods of domestication and herding are different.

The technology of the pastoral tribes is characterized by a limited stock of ergological objects. This is due to the difficulty of transport, but also due to the fact that the animal breeders who generally had easy access to products manufactured by other cultures, can acquire these easily through trade or, on their raids, through robbery.

The dwellings of the pastoral nomads are tents with erect cylindrically formed walls and a conical or dome-shaped roof; they are spacious, and easily erected, dismantled and transported. These tents have most likely evolved from the round form of the huts in the foodgathering stage of culture. It is the woman's task to make the tent, to erect it and to take it down.

Of utensils the nomadic animal breeders have merely what is connected with animal raising: plates, buckets, milking gourds, a milking stool; then bags, sacks, pouches of skin, saddles, etc. The vessels—a characteristic is their roundness—are made of wood or wickerwork, while other articles are mainly of skin or fur.

The men and women wear trousers and leather leggings with the fur turned in. They are a speciality of this culture. In Africa, however, cattle breeders wear little clothing or none at all.

They feed mainly on milk, dairy products (cheese, butter, etc.), blood and meat. Vegetables they eat as side dishes or condiments. The preparation of the food is the task of the women. But women are generally excluded from dairying.

The weapons of these pastoral nomads show their specialization for animal raising and warfare, for while shepherds drive the flocks and herds, warriors have to guard them. Significant are the lasso with the loose noose, the snare, lance, spear, battle axe, sword, sabre, bow and arrows (a composite reflexion bow). They use no shields in battle, but a cuirass.

For transportation they have riding and draught animals; they use sledges and travois. They probably invented the wagon which evolved from the cylinder or barrel. Wheels were in use already in the Upper Neolithic period and evolved probably from a rolling tree trunk. The oldest form of the wheel is a solid round wooden slab of one piece with an axle.

The economic life of the animal breeders varies from country to country and from tribe to tribe. In Central Asia pastoralism generally consists of sheep, horse and cattle raising, and secondarily, of camel (supplementary to the horse) and goat (supplementary to sheep) breeding. The most important herd animal in Arabia and North Africa, less so in North India, but again in desert Arabia (from the Caspian Sea over Takla Makan and Gobi to Manchuria) is the camel. The raising of yak (in Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia and on the Pamir) and donkey (in South-West Asia) is of limited distribution. Cattle is the main herd animal of the African pastoralists. The reindeer is bred only in Siberia and in the arctic zone.

The basic economic unit in most pastoral communities is the extended joint family; for an individual family would be unable to tend the large herds. The extended joint family is also the basic productive unit, but it is more a union of producers than of consumers. The work of women is of great importance in these communities; therefore they occupy a comparatively high social position, at least in the home. However, pastoralism is mainly a man's affair, for tending the animals is no woman's work, even the milking is done by men. Since the main source of the food supply is from herds, the collection of vegetable food by the women is of minor importance. It is the task of the women to prepare and to cook the food, and to do all the other household work. Since the number of persons in a family is considerable, household work is no easy task for the women. The women also erect and dismantle the tent. The work of the men is intermittent and periodical; they seek pastures, lead the herds there and protect them, take care of their breeding, tend and milk the animals. Still much time is left for leisure which is often used for raids and warfare.

It is typical for this form of culture that the pastoralists have a pronounced aversion to killing their herd animals except in sacrifice. Whenever possible they live on dairy products or the flesh of old animals. Thus the Masai of Kenya and Tanganyika (Africa) live mainly on milk, blood (which they extract from the neck of their cattle) and game. In Kenya there is plenty of cattle, but a scarcity of meat for food. The cattle-herding Watussi of the Congo are strict vegetarians. This characteristic aversion to killing their cattle is perhaps responsible for the prohibition of eating beef in India. There it later received a religious sanction. Meat supply is often suplemented in these cultures by hunting or fishing.[1]

Dairying is almost certainly an invention of the pastoral nomads. For it is well-known that many primitive agriculturists distain from a milk diet (as in India, for instance, and also in China and Indonesia). The pastoral nomads, however, live mainly on milk and milk products. They use not only the milk of cattle, but also that of goats, sheep, reindeer, yaks, asses, water buffaloes and even of the horse.

---

[1] The Dinka of South Sudan fish once a year in the river Lol. In their passion for fishing they leave their cattle unguarded. Many are then killed by wild animals.

Besides dairying, the animal breeders were often also daring robbers. Such raids were favoured by the possession of swift animals which made surprise attacks and safe escape easy. Moreover, their peculiar way of living allowed them much leisure which they used for the planning and execution of such raids. The lack of handicrafts and contempt for them in these pastoral communities also created a peremptory need for necessary or useful articles manufactured by the artisans of other cultures.

The study of the living primitive races, foodgatherers and foodproducers, convinces us that they have been arrested in various stages of cultural evolution and thus present a faithful and objective picture of prehistoric races in corresponding stages of their development.

In the following chapters we shall therefore study first the various social systems of the primitives and also their property concepts and their religion. In this manner we hope to be able to reconstruct the historical development of the material and mental culture of man from the earliest periods of human existence.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRIMITIVE FAMILY

ALL sociologists recognize the family as the pivot and core of social life. The fellowship of the family draws its structure and character from the facts of birth, marriage and death. It is a fellowship of young and old. It is the centre in which the individual receives his first care and protection, and also his basic training in human values and behaviour. In fact, human parents not only provide their children with genes which together, from father and mother, make up their hereditary endowment; they also provide them with a home—perhaps the most important part of the environment in which those children will grow up. And it is not only the physical environment, the shelter, food, and care that parents provide, but also in a very substantial way they provide their children's intellectual climate, with the sense of thought for others, respect for the law, love—or despisal—of learning. In the shelter of the family very elementary urges in man are satisfied: the sexual urge, the urge for love and affectionate companionship, the urge for security.

1. *Traditional Theories about the Origin of the Family*

Before sociology was recognized as a special science, it was philosophy which concerned itself with the study of the human family. Plato and Aristotle were perhaps the first to write about the family scientifically. However, they knew only the patriarchal family system and never thought that other family systems could exist which were at variance with it. J.J. Rousseau, G. Herder and A. Comte in the 18th and 19th centuries were of the same opinion. It was J. Bachofen who in 1861 stated, for the first time, in his celebrated work *Das Mutterrecht*, that mother-right was the older institution. J. McLennan and L.H. Morgan, unilateral evolutionists, maintained that the family had developed in several grades from unlimited promiscuity through polyandry and polygyny to monogamy. They left us wondering what would be the next step in this series of evolution!

The evolutionary theory proved very popular, because it conformed to the general theory of evolution thought out by Charles Darwin. But it can hardly be correct: for one reason—it is too simple; human institutions do not evolve in one single line; also, it is biologically unsound, which, of course, these early sociologists could not know. If promiscuity had been practised at the beginning of mankind, man would have died out long ago before the stages of polygyny and monogamy could have been reached, for promiscuity leads to sterility of woman. It has been noted by several anthropologists (V. Elwin, for instance) that in tribal India girls rarely conceive as long as they are promiscuous. To prevent early pregnancy the inmates of the youth dormitories, where such sex relations are carried on, generally discourage the girls from "going steady" with the same boys and insist on promiscuity. E. Westermarck, in his famous book on the history of marriage, objected to the evolutionary view for another reason: he had found that most primitives lived in monogamy, and that the other marriage forms were exceptions and moreover strictly regulated.

Modern sociologists generally admit that the early evolutionistic theory is untenable; the behaviour of a horde of higher mammals is totally irrelevant to social behaviour in a human group, even in the most primitive one. But they also hold that Westermarck was wrong. For he failed to distinguish between actual and compulsory marriage. If the primitives in their majority are monogamous, they are mostly so for economic reasons. Few tribes hold polygamous marriages morally wrong, though tribes which hold this view are found precisely among the most primitive ones. Polyandry, however, is now generally ruled out as an intermediary stage between mother-right and patriarchy, for it is found only sporadically and is probably the outcome of certain peculiar economic and social factors.

It must be noted, however, that modern sociologists in general lack a system of classification and do not sufficiently distinguish between the earlier and later historical stages in primitive society. For a correct assessment of the whole situation is, on the other hand, imperative that a distinction be made at least between foodgatherers and foodproducers, and among the foodproducers between tribes which concentrate mainly on hunting, on the cultivation of the soil or on animal breeding. For the social organization of a tribe is strongly influenced by the economic life it leads and also by the natural environment in which it lives.

2. *Family and Marriage among the Foodgatherers*

At the outset we must emphasize that, without any exception, no tribe is without a family system. In fact, one of the characteristics which separates man from the rest of creation is his readiness to submit to the discipline of life in society.[1] Moreover, there is no human society that does not impose some restraint on the sex urge of its members. It also brings effective pressure to bear upon the individuals to observe its mores and it places religious sanctions on proper sexual behaviour.

A most remarkable restraint on sexual freedom in all primitive communities is exogamy. It was J. McLennan who discovered this social phenomenon; it implies marriage outside a certain social group (kin, clan, territory, etc.). Exogamy separates man from the animal in which it is absent. Incest taboos are especially strong in the societies of the foodgatherers; in more advanced communities some exceptions are occasionally found, or modifications.

The origin of exogamy is still obscure; some ascribe it to an instinctive aversion to in-breeding or to a belief in totems, to the prevalence of female infanticide in primitive cultures, to a lack of sexual attraction due to familiarity in growing up together, to magical religious or superstitious motives. The very number of explanations offered is a proof that its origin is still disputed.

The foodgatherers have as a rule only kinship exogamy, that is, they forbid marriage within a person's own family group. This family group consists usually of a few families which are related to each other by kinship and at the same time form an economic unit, that is, they live and work together.

---

[1] Ants and other insect communities cannot be quoted against this, because their dependence on the group is physiological and not voluntary.

Among the foodgatherers a great degree of freedom in the choice of marriage partners is the rule, though, wherever possible, it is often combined with an exchange of girls between the two groups. Among the African Pygmies it is the custom that the bride goes into hiding. If she does not want to marry her partner, she takes care not to be found. Among the Bushmen a boy asks his sister to speak for him to the girl of his choice. Among the Birhor in Bihar (India) the bride runs away and the bridegroom has to chase her. Among the Andamanese the boy asks his father or uncle to arrange the marriage, but he is free in the choice of his bride. Among the South-East Australians and the Kareya of Brazil the parents arrange the marriage of their children, but the latter are free to refuse. Among the Vedda of Ceylon and the Senoi of Malaya at least no bride-price is demanded; among the Vedda the boy himself chooses his bride and disappears with her for a few days in the jungle. So do the Aeta of the Philippines. Among the Batwa and Akka Pygmies of Central Africa, however, the choice of partners is restricted and a bride-price is demanded.

Pre-marital sex relations are permitted by most food-gathering tribes, at least as long as there is no danger of conception. When a girl becomes pregnant, she is quickly married off. It appears, therefore, that such sexual freedom is a relaxation of.former stricter laws and indeed pre-marital sex relations are still forbidden in a number of foodgathering tribes: among the Ituri and Gabun Pygmies, the Batwa Pygmoids, the Semang and Senoi of Malaya, the Negritos of the Philippines, the Koryak of the arctic circle, the Yuki and Maidu of Northcentral California, the Western Algonquians, the Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians, the Salish tribes, the Tierra del Fuegians, some South-East Australian tribes, a few Gez and Kareya tribes of Brazil. Among the Kindiga of East Africa, and many other tribes (Andamanese) a girl must be married when she becomes pregnant. The Cape York

Australians permit free pre-marital sex relations, but if a child is borne by an unmarried mother, mother and child are killed. Such cases, however, happen rarely as an escape from punishment is possible by procuring an abortion.

Practical monogamy is the general rule. But among the majority of the foodgathering tribes monogamy is not compulsory. It is compulsory only among the Kadar of South India (as long as marriage lasts), the Andamanese, one Semang tribe, the Vedda, the Toala of Celebes, a few South-East Australian tribes (some Kurnai and Kulin groups, as the Wotjabaluk), the Tierra del Fuegians and the Bagielli Pygmies of the Cameroons.

Though not compulsory, monogamy is the rule among most Bushmen tribes, among the Batwa Pygmoids, the Reindeer Koryak, the Negritos of the Philippines, the Kindiga, the Gez of Brazil and others. The statement that "polygyny increases with cultural progress" (i.e., economic progress) has been confirmed by further research.[2] Only some Bushmen tribes and in recent times some Kulin and Yuin groups of South-East Australia practise polygyny on a somewhat larger scale. The much propagated Pirauru marriage (exchange of wives in certain groups) is in vogue only in Central Australia among advanced hunting tribes.

Marriages are fairly stable among the foodgatherers. Among the African Pygmies, the Tierra del Fuegians and the Kareya of Brazil divorce is exceptional after the birth of a child; it is rare among the Andamanese and Vedda, and was practically unknown in former times. It is more frequent among the Semang and Senoi, the Philippine Negritos and the Bushmen, especially among young couples. Among the South-East Australians marriages as a rule last for life or at least for a long time. Among the Kindiga of East Africa only sterility is a valid reason for divorce.

Extra-marital sex relations are generally forbidden; they are strictly forbidden among the African Pygmies (Bambuti), the West Algonquians (Arapaho) and the Salish; they were forbidden among the Kadar of South India till the influx of wifeless forest labourers broke up their marriages. A temporary wife-exchange is permitted among the Eskimos, but subject to definite rules. Adultery is severely punished by the Kindiga, the Vedda, the Semang and Senoi and the Philippine Negritos. The latter kill adulterers by order of the Supreme Being. Also the Bushmen forbid sex relations outside marriage, except for the rare case when two friends wish to give each other access to their wives.

---

[2] *Cf.* Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples.*

Husband and wife enjoy generally equal social status among the foodgatherers; it is so among the Andamanese, the Vedda and the South-East Australians. The African Pygmies and the Philippine Negritos assign a slightly inferior social position to their women. The Philippine Negritos forbid wife-beating.

One characteristic of the economic life of the foodgatherers is that the individual family is the basic working unit, and the centre of production as well as of consumption. Though food may generally be collected and game hunted in teams, the consumption after division of the spoils usually takes place in the circle of the individual family.

The foodgatherers also practise a characteristic division of labour between the sexes: the male supplies the flesh food by hunting, fishing, gathering eggs, etc. He also collects honey, for this is often difficult and sometimes dangerous. The Vedda of Ceylon, for instance, often risk their lives in climbing most inaccessible cliffs and high trees to get at the hives of wild bees. The woman supplies the vegetable food, by picking fruit, digging tubers, roots, collecting mushrooms, berries, plants, etc. She also prepares the food, cooks and roasts it (in earthen stoves). Among the Mountain Dama of South-West Africa the distribution of labour goes so far that a man, who desires a dish of vegetables, collected and prepared by his wife, must buy it from her or exchange it for a dish of meat, prepared by himself.

The range of male activity is wider than that of woman's who stays at home or moves near the home. Women also erect the beehive hut or the windbreak, carry water and collect firewood, manufacture some utensils like pouches, baskets, mats, dishes and clothes. On their food forage expeditions women use the digging stick, an implement typical of this culture.

The men manufacture bows and arrows, quivers, clubs, spears, boomerangs, axes, knives, blow-guns, harpoons, canoes and the peculiar fire-making apparatus which the tribe uses.

In the family system of the foodgatherers children are much desired for economic, religious and emotional reasons; they are a guarantee for a stable marriage. Children are generally well looked after, though infant mortality is very high in the primitive conditions which prevail in this kind of life. Explorers mention how much affection the foodgatherers show for their children. This is true of the Kadar, Andamanese, Vedda, Senoi, Negritos, South-East Australians and African Pygmies. The Philippine Negritos never beat their children. Infanticide is uncommon, except for one tribe of Central African Pygmies, the Bushmen, the Kulin (in times of want) and the Eskimos.

The children receive their education in play and through the imitation of the elders in an informal way. In certain tribes parents, grandparents or elders give them even a sort of formal education. The South-East Australians, the Tierra del Fuegians, the North-Central Californians and the Andamanese have special initiation ceremonies. These are particularly well organized in Australia and endowed with esoteric rites. The Ituri Pygmies and the Bushmen too have initiation, but it is probably strongly influenced by Negro magic beliefs. The ceremonies are performed by a male association, the so-called Tore.

The initiations are periods of great trial and fortitude; they imply fasting for long periods, a rigid exclusion from the social life of the tribe, painful tattooing and other scarifications, tooth extraction or filing, and many other ordeals. The ethical rules and the secrets of the tribe are revealed to the initiands in impressive ceremonies.

If the family system of the foodgathering tribes really resembles that of early human society, then the family mores at the beginning of mankind were not so different from those that prevail in modern civilized society: inbreeding was prevented by exogamy; there was freedom of choice of mates; though pre-marital sex relations were tolerated, they were probably frowned upon; practical monogamy was the rule; divorce was rare; extra-marital sex relations were forbidden and punished; husband and wife were of equal status; children were much wanted and well cared for. Initiation rites were not absent in prehistoric times as the presence of bull-roarers in the Magdalenian period proves. The bull-roarers must have had the same function in those times which they have today in primitive Australia or America.

3. *Family and Marriage among the Foodproducers*

(*a*) *The Advanced Hunters.* The progress from mere food-gathering to foodproducing, wherever it took place, was certainly not a sudden one. This gradual, but nevertheless revolutionary and extremely important economic change had also its repercussions on the social life of primitive man.

We have already seen that certain arctic tribes held the belief that the animal killed in the hunt could be revived and hunted again provided its skull and long-bones were preserved intact. On this assumption arose the conviction of the existence of a bush or game god who sends the animals to the hunter for the kill. This god assumed in some tribes the role of a guardian spirit who was first associated with particular individuals and later with whole families and their direct descendants. This spirit was often even identified with the ancestor of the sib or clan (group of families whose heads descended from a common ancestor). While the belief in a special guardian spirit who usually took the form and shape of a certain animal was called "individual totemism"[3] the belief in a spirit in animal form as the ancestor, or as standing in a certain mysterious (protective or benevolent) relation with the whole sib, is called "clan totemism." Thus among the tribes who specialized in advanced hunting methods and concentrated on gaining their livelihood mainly

[3] The word "totem" is derived from the Algonquian "nindotem" (one's close relation) or from the Chippewa "ototeman," which means: relation by kinship.

from the wild animals in forest and steppe, the hunted animals received a mysterious and magic significance.

Many varieties of totemism are in existence. The totems are not always animals, but also plants and even inanimate objects. The extreme forms of totemism seem to have developed in hunting cultures in which cultivation at the same time was practised at not too low a level. No evidence can be found that totemism developed at one place and then spread over the whole world. It is found among primitives of all the continents, but nowhere in compact areas. We may consequently assume that clan totemism is the product of various religious and social factors by whose combination this phenomenon arose independently in different parts of the world and therefore also varies considerably.

We now find in cultures with individual totemism that the family system resembles much that of the foodgathering tribes. Many features of the system are preserved, though a gradual change of some others is noticeable. Thus among the Montagnais Indians of North America the women are already treated as slaves. Pre-marital sex relations are tolerated, but with rare exceptions, husband and wife are faithful to each other.

In cultures with clan totemism, however, the change of the family system is more marked. First of all, the exogamy of the family group living in a certain area, as practised by the foodgatherers, is now extended to the whole clan. The incest rules become stricter and more extensive than in the foodgathering stage. Exogamy is linked to the totemic beliefs; incest is considered an affront to the totem. Transgression of this rule, to which frequently a magic significance is attached, is consequently often more severely punished.

In most totemistic cultures we find a pronounced emphasis on the male sex. In the choice of marriage partners only the boys are free, while girls enjoy no such liberty of choosing their partners.

With regard to family life we notice a gradual emancipation of the male from his family ties. He is attached to the company of the other males in his clan or tribe. The result is a corresponding weakening of the woman's influence in the family circle, while in tribal society her influence is practically eliminated. The boys are removed from the family at initiation and return after a long time as adult members of the tribe. After initiation they are often granted sexual liberties with the girls, which in certain tribes leads to a form of prostitution.

Husband and wife enjoy no equal status; nor is there a proper family life. Male predominance is very marked in social life.

While the mother's influence prevails with the girls and non-initiated boys at home, the initiated boys are markedly released from the family bond; they join the age groups with their various activities and live largely away from their home. Hottentots and Kaffirs of South Africa,[4] for instance, even advise their circumcized youths not to obey their mothers.

Marriage is usually at a late age, the natural consequence of which is that pre-marital sex relations are the more frequent. Girls and women grant their sexual favours freely, and from early youth a strong emphasis is placed on sexual life. To this pattern conform, for instance, the Masai of Africa who marry when they are about forty; so do the Bororo of South America. Both tribes were originally advanced hunters. Pre-marital sex relations are freely permitted among them.

The marriage bond is loose and divorce easy and frequent; extra-marital sex relations are only restricted by the jealousy and possessiveness of the males.

Naturally, many exceptions are found to this general rule; some hunting tribes still follow the pattern of the foodgathering tribes to a remarkable degree while others deviate from it much more and have developed in the above indicated direction. The magical outlook peculiar to these tribes had indeed its marked repercussions on their social organization and introduced important changes in the family system which they had inherited from their foodgathering ancestors.

(*b*) *The Primitive Cultivators*. The family system of the primitive cultivators is not uniform; it varies with the origin of the cultivators either immediately from the foodgathering stage of culture or from that of advanced hunting. In agrarian communities developed immediately from the foodgathering stage the family remains the economic unit. The man does the heavy work of preparing the field, while the woman does the sowing, weeding and harvesting. But for mutual protection against raiders and wild animals and for the protection of their stores, the single families often live in compact settlements. There they have permanent homes with solid houses and store rooms. But seasonally the single families may live on their fields. All the land is often owned by the village community, though the usufruct of the cultivated plots goes to the family actually cultivating them.

---

[4] Though today these tribes are no more exclusive hunters, but farmers and cattle breeders, their social organization is still that of advanced hunters.

In this group of primitive cultivators marriage partners must be chosen not only outside the kinship group (or clan, where clans exist), but generally also outside the village community. Considerable freedom of choice is granted to the marriage partners. And in this stage of culture the girls are not only free to choose, but often take an active part in arranging their marriage. They often elope with the man of their choice or allow themselves to be kidnapped by him.

However, ordinarily the village community wants to have a voice in arranging the marriage and it also takes part in its celebration. A marriage is celebrated usually with a rich ceremonial. A bride-price is demanded as a compensation for the labour lost by the girl's transfer to another home and village. If a boy is too poor to pay it, he may acquire his bride through service. The result is often that the marriage becomes matrilocal (uxorilocal). Such service marriages are common among the aboriginal tribes of Central India.

Monogamy is the rule, though not compulsory. A wealthy man who can afford to pay the price for several brides may thus acquire more than one wife. Polygyny is therefore a sign of wealth. It is particularly common among the chiefs. The Kankanai of the Philippines, however, still practise compulsory monogamy, but allow divorce though it is rare. In certain cultivating communities fraternal polyandry is practised, perhaps to prevent division of the land. It is quite common among the Himalayan tribes and in Tibet.

Pre-marital sex relations are generally permitted or at least tolerated as long as they do not result in pregnancy. In New Guinea (the Tika and Yamaga) and in Indonesia, however, some agrarian tribes do not allow their girls pre-marital sex relations. In any case, pregnant girls are quickly married off to give the coming child a legal father. Among a number of tribes (Bontoc in the Philippines, Moi in Indo-China, Nicobarese, Kiwai Papuans of New Guinea and others) such sex relations are accepted as a form of wooing. In some tribes a girl is only married after she has proved that she is not sterile. This is common practice among the Moi of Indo-China and the Bohindu of the Belgian Congo. The Kikuyu of Kenya and the Shilluk of South Africa, formerly hunters, now cultivators, practise a form of imperfect intercourse without breaking the hymen. Unmarried youths who begot a child were severely punished.

Divorce is freely permitted, provided the bride-price is returned. A divorce may be demanded by the husband as well as by the wife. Or women change their husbands simply by eloping with other men. Such illicit unions are subsequently legalized by the elders of the village community.

The social position of the husband is stronger in patrilocal marriages while in matrilocal (uxorilocal) marriages that of the wife is better. This may be partly responsible for the evolution of a social system called matriarchy.

Extra-marital sex relations are usually forbidden; where they are practised they are subject to certain regulations. Adultery is usually severely punished by tribes who were formerly mere foodgatherers, like the Bontok Philippines who allow a husband to kill the lover of his wife. Among the Moi of Indo-China a husband may kill his adulterous wife and her paramour. The Tika and Yamaga of New Guinea punish infidelity of a wife severely. Other tribes, especially those who had formerly been advanced hunters, are less strict; they may even lend their wives to guests, or exchange them on occasions, like the Kiwai who often exchange wives after battle as a peace contract. But even among them a man risks his life when he commits adultery.

Inheritance is in the male line; but if there is no male issue, it may also be in the female line.

Children are highly welcome; in fact, they are a guarantee for a stable marriage, and a security for the parents in old age. Girls are especially wanted because they fetch a good bride-price, but boys are welcome because they will later take care of their old parents.

In agrarian cultures evolved from advanced hunting cultures the independence of the individual families is often weakened. Not only are the fields often tilled and planted communally, but also the crops are owned in common. Sometimes the harvest is distributed among the individual families for consumption, as among the Iroquois of North America. In some of these communities agricultural work is entirely left to the women. Periodical markets are a common institution in these agrarian cultures. These markets are often inter-tribal and inter-cultural; their purpose is the exchange of goods. The traders are women. This may also have contributed to the origin of a peculiar social organization called mother-right.

In these cultures the initiation of boys and girls on reaching the age of puberty is common. The initiation of the boys takes place not for their admission into the tribe, as in the foodgathering stage of culture, but for their admission into associations and secret societies. The initiation usually culminates in circumcision, but tattooing, scarification, teeth filing and other ceremonies also take place. Among the Moi of Indo-China, for instance, the boys are circumcized and their teeth filed. During their initiation they live in specially reserved dwellings. The initiation ceremonies of the girls are often connected with their first menstruation. Various taboos have to be observed by them. Thus among the Kai of New Guinea and on the Loango in West Africa the menstruating girls are fully covered; among the Kai they must also walk on coconut shells; on Yap Island they must sit on them; in the Solomon Islands they must sit on wood, or sleep on heaps of leaves (Kai) so as not to come in contact with the ground. The Suaheli of Africa, the Yap Islanders, the inhabitants of the New Hebrides and of the Marshall

Islands have special puberty huts for their girls during their first menstruation. The Kiwai Papuans perform elaborate purification ceremonies with tattooing and scarification. In Africa (Suaheli, Konde in East Africa, Krobo on the Gold Coast, the Negroes of Liberia, on the Loango Coast in West Africa, in Mechuanaland, on the Wanyamwesi) old women give these girls instruction in their marital duties during the initiation. The Basuto give also cosmological and moral instructions.

For various reasons, of an economic and social nature, certain agrarian cultures developed a peculiar form of social organization which is called matriarchy or mother-right. Matriarchal societies are widely distributed all over the world, but it seems that they are only found with tribes connected with agriculture. Where in rare cases mere foodgatherers or animal breeders have adopted the matriarchal system, borrowing can be proved.

The distribution of mother-right is world-wide, though sporadical. In Asia it is found in India, in two centres, one being Malabar (Nair, other tribes and low castes, the Moplah, some tribes and castes in Kanara [Navayat], etc.), the other in Assam (Khasi, Garo and Synteng). Mother-right is also found in Indo-China, in China and Indonesia (in Sumatra, Minangkabau, Negri Sembilam). In Africa we have four centres of mother-right: one is the region extending from the lower Congo to the lower Sambesi, with former extensive states, and some Bantu; another centre is the Gold Coast and the Ivory Coast in West Africa; in Upper Guinea the Ashanti; a third centre is the Sudan, but there mother-right is restricted to the families of the chiefs. A fourth centre is North Africa, sporadically (due to Moslem influence) from Kordofan and North Abyssinia (Barea-Kunama) to Benja; also the Berber and Tuareg are matriarchal tribes. In North America, in the East, we have the Iroquois, in the South-West the Pueblo Indians (Hopi, Tewa); in Middle America matriarchal tribes are found in Mexico, like the Chibcha (among the leading families only), Tarasc, Mixtec, Zapothec, Mixe and Zoque. South America has matriarchal tribes in Venezuela (Yruro) and in Brazil (Aruak, Kechua, Aymara, Gez tribes in eastern

Brazil and the Bororo in central Brazil). Micronesia has matriarchal tribes on Malau and on the Central Carolines. In ancient Europe matriarchal people were found in Greece and around the Mediterranean Sea.

As the actual transition of a society into matriarchy has nowhere been observed, the reasons for the origin of this peculiar social organization can only be surmised. According to W. Schmidt it was woman who invented agriculture. This gave her an economic and social superiority over the male which resulted in mother-right. However, this deduction is doubtful. One reason for the origin of mother-right may be the long absence from home of the men, during wars, on hunting expeditions, or on sea-faring voyages, which gave the women the opportunity to assume economic and social control. Another reason might be that the men lost their economic and social predominance when they could no longer provide the livelihood through hunting, but refused to change to cultivation which was women's work. The women as the main providers thus assumed the lead in these communities.

In a matriarchal family all the legal powers relating to the ordering and governing of the family—power over the house, over marriage, over property and inheritance—are vested in women rather than in men. The actual exercise of these powers is, however, often handed over to male deputies, usually the brothers of the leading woman. Thus the male element reasserts itself.

Consequently a man inherits his name, his land and his position from his mother's brother, through his mother. Some matriarchal societies allow women actually to own house and land and to pass them from mother to daughter. Husband-fathers have little authority in such communities though they may live under their mother-in-law's roof. The Hopi and Tewa Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, for instance, consider the women as the important members of the family. They own the land and the houses and dispense the food. All important decisions are taken by the women. The men's prerogative is the performance of the religious rites. They also exercise disciplinary powers, teach the children how to make a living, but otherwise they have little authority in the home.

Residence and family allegiance is strictly to the mother. While a husband must reside at the home of his wife, he considers his mother's house his real home and pays frequent visits to his mother.

In the matriarchal societies we have matrilineal exogamous clans. Sometimes they are totemistic, as among the agrarian Bantu tribes. Marriages are usually arranged by the women. Service marriage becomes even more common and uxorilocal marriage is now the rule. In somes tribes the husband does not even live with his wife, but visits her only at conventional times. So did the ancient Arabs, and still do the Menang kabau of Sumatra, the Moplah and Nair of Malabar and the Khasi in Assam. This system is called visit-marriage. The bride-price is now an indispensable institution, though it may be considered formally as a gift (as among the agrarian Bantu). The preferential marriage form is between cross-cousins; this is the custom in Madagascar, South India, among the Dayak of Borneo, and others.

Marriage is still practically monogamous, as polygyny does not work well within a matriarchal society, except among the nobles and wealthy of Madagascar, the agrarian Bantu, the Nair of India, etc. But a matriarchal social organization seems to favour the custom of polyandry, though this marriage system is also found in patriarchal societies, as for instance among the patriarchal Khasas of the *cis*-Himalayan Hills. Polyandry is frequent among tribes where visit-marriage is the established custom.

Pre-marital and even extra-marital sex relations are common though usually subject to certain regulations. In matrilocal groups a man is scarcely able to punish his wife for adultery. It is now often the woman who divorces her husband, though divorce is as easy for him. He may simply disappear or cease visiting.

In extreme mother-right cultures the father has scarcely any authority over his wife and children. It is the mother, or her brother, who dominates the family.

Inheritance is in the female line and property rights are vested in the mother or wife. Often it is the youngest daughter who inherits all the property of the family.

Initiation ceremonies are performed for the girls at their first menstruation or soon afterwards, while generally no initiation is held for the boys, except among the agrarian Bantu tribes of Africa. But these boys may be initiated into secret societies. Menstrual blood is much feared, therefore menstruating women are considered unclean and are strictly segregated during their periods. Also the hymenal blood is often feared, which results for some tribes in the custom of defloration of the bride before the marriage is consummated; defloration is either artificial, or done by the father-in-law, by a stranger, or in the temple. For the same reason women in childbirth are also treated as unclean and their touch must be avoided. Widows often fetch a higher bride-price.

(*c*) *The Nomadic Animal Breeders.* The races that concentrated on the rearing and breeding of herds developed a peculiar family form of their own; at least it is so in Asia, while the cattle breeding tribes of Africa follow more closely the family pattern of their formerly hunting or cultivating ancestors. Among the Asiatic animal breeding tribes the extended joint family system is typical; it developed from the natural family of the foodgatherers into the extended patriarchal family, into a closely knit community consisting of parents, sons, their wives and children, and other dependents. The daughters remain in the family only till marriage. Only the Berber and Tuareg of North Africa are an exception; they have mother-right, which they probably adopted from older occupants of their present habitats.

Members of the joint family live in a common household; they have no private property except such as conceded by the patriarch or by tribal custom. Cooperation is expected from all members in the tending of the herds, for mutual protection and for occasional raids. This co-operation often ceases when the joint family breaks up on the death of the patriarch.

The patrilineal family is exogamous, i.e. sons obtain their wives from outside families. It is less a local exogamy, for the living area is not well defined and not always exclusive. It is rather a blood-kindred exogamy. For this reason the classificatory system never gained a foothold in these societies.[5]

The pastoral nomads—except the Berber and Tuareg—reckon descents in the paternal line only, but in all other is their family system respects similar to that of the food-gatherers from which their pattern is evolved.

In advanced patriarchal societies marriage is generally arranged by the patriarch and the marriage partners are not allowed any freedom of choice. This freedom is particularly denied to the bride. This is very markedly so among the Bedouins of Petraea. The Bedouins of Moab and Sinai, however, admit some freedom of choice. This restriction of freedom in the choice of marriage partners is somewhat counterbalanced by another legal form of marriage, namely, by bride capture, after a previous arrangement. This form of marriage is common among the Irtish Ostyak, the Turco-Tatar, and it was popular among the ancient Teutons and the Semites.

The bride has to be purchased, and the bride-price is paid in animals. Thus the Yakut pay 16 reindeer for a bride, the Tungus one to twenty, the Samoyed ten to 150 reindeer. The Kirghis pay 40 to 120 sheep, or seven to 57 head of cattle; wealthy people pay 500 to 1000 sheep, and in addition give cattle, gifts and slaves. Also the Kazakh demand a bride-price. The Arabs of Petraea pay five to 20 camels for a bride, while the Hamitic Galla of East Africa give ten to 150 milch cows, ten to 15 horses and 200 to 500 sheep.

The bride's father has to pay a dowry, but it is considerably less than the bride-price. Among the Tungus it is a quarter of the bride-price, among the Yakut half of it. The dowry is received by the head of the groom's joint family.

Though even among some of the more advanced animal breeders, but certainly among the primitive pastoralists, monogamy is the rule, it is nowhere compulsory. Monogamy is common among the Tungus, Samoyed, Ostyak, Mongol, Tatar, Kalmuck, Mordvin, Kirghiz, and was so among the

---

[5] We speak of a "classificatory kinship" system when common terms of address are used both for lineal relatives and certain categories of collateral relatives. Thus, persons may address their uncles by the term of "father" or aunts by the term of "mother," etc.

Indo-Europeans. It is also predominant among certain Hamitic pastoralists, like the Beni-Amer, Takue, Galla, but not the Masai. The Tuareg are also monogamous; so were the ancient Egyptians (except their rulers). Polygyny, however, was prevalent among the ancient Assyro-Babylonians, the Hebrew and other Semitic tribes. It is a firmly established institution among the Kazakh, and especially among the pastoral tribes of Eastern Africa, especially the Bantu tribes and also the Masai; the more wives a man has, the greater is his social prestige.

While among primitive pastoralists a woman may divorce her husband, in the advanced stage of pastoralism divorce is permitted only to men. The Masai alone do not divorce their wives.

The primitive pastoralists regard pre-marital sex relations with equal indulgence as the foodgatherers. But in advanced pastoralism we encounter a double morality: while men may have such sex relations, they are denied to women. The reason for this double standard is to preserve the purity of the race. Virginity of the bride is strongly insisted upon; the bride's brother is installed as her guardian. So it was among the Vedic Indians, the ancient Germans and Slavs; this custom still survives among the Altai tribes, the Semites, Hamites, the Bedouins of Petraea, the Arabs of Moab, the Western Tuareg, the Marea, Beni Amer, Bogo of West Africa, the Galla and Shilluk. The latter allowed imperfect sex relations without violation of the hymen.

The ancient Chinese even had virginity tests, and so did the Vedic Indians and the White Russians. Such tests are still in vogue among the Kirghiz, Arabs, Galla and several tribes in West Sudan. The Masai, however, are an exception, as extreme sexual freedom is the custom among men and women. But they too enforce the marriage of a girl who becomes pregnant.

The primitive pastoralists in Mongolia do not regard extra-marital sex relations a crime, but the advanced animal breeders generally punish adulterers with death.

In primitive pastoralism, which conforms closely to the foodgathering stage of culture out of which it evolved, the joint family tends to remain small. But in advanced pastoralism it may grow to a large group, especially if the family head has many wives and consequently many sons. In these communities, the extended joint family is also the basic economic unit. It is a union of producers as well as of consumers. Pastoralism is mainly a man's affair, for tending the animals is no woman's work; even the milking is done by men. Since the main source of the food supply is from the herds, the collection of vegetable food by the women is of minor importance. Thus at least in advanced pastoralism the social position of the women is inferior. The sphere of female influence is limited to the house. It is the task of the women to prepare and to cook the food, and to do all the other household work. Where the number of persons in a family is considerable, household work is no easy task for the women. The women also erect and dismantle the tents. The work of the men is intermittent and periodical; they seek pastures, lead the herds there and protect them, take care of their grazing, breeding, tend and milk the animals. Still much time is left for leisure which is often used for raids and warfare.

Thus in primitive pastoralism the status of women is scarcely inferior to that of men. Among the Altai tribes, but also among the East African Somali, Danakil and Galla, women enjoy a good social position. Among the Arabs the woman rules the house or tent. But in advanced pastoral societies the woman's position is inferior and relegated to the house. It is so, for instance, among the Kazakh. In a polygynous family the first wife has a preferential status. So it is also among the Hamites and Bantu of Africa.

In all advanced animal breeding societies children, especially sons, are welcome. But they always remain under the authority of the patriarch, even after reaching maturity and marriage. They eat and work with the family. This patriarchal family system prevailed among the Vedic Indians, the old Armenians, Slavs, Albanians; it was less pronounced among the Romans, Greeks and Germans. It is still the rule among the Desert Arabs, the Hamitic and Hamitoid tribes of eastern Africa. The authority of the family head extended at least in the past even over the life or death of the new-born children. This right was recognized and occasionally led to infanticide among the ancient Arabs, Romans, Greeks and the Teutonic tribes.

Primogeniture is the universal rule among these pastoralists. Thus among the Hamitic Galla the first-born son inherits two-thirds of the family property while the other sons share the rest among themselves. A preferential treatment of the first-born son is also found among the polygynous Arabs. It was the rule also among the Semites.

Children in this stage of culture receive no formal education, nor are any initiation ceremonies performed.

We recognize thus in the pastoral societies a family system in which the natural family of the foodgatherers has developed into an extended joint family with a patriarch as undisputed and authoritarian head. This family system, on the other hand, has retained many of the traits prevalent in the family system of the foodgatherers.

CHAPTER IX

KINSHIP INSTITUTIONS

THE basis and core of all elementary human societies is the natural family, consisting of husband and wife, and their children. This natural family grows into a wider social group, which is still based on reproduction, the kinship group. It includes not only the blood relatives of the spouses (affinal kinship), but also the generations above and below, parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren (consanguineous kinship).

Kinship can also be biological, if it is based on actual blood relationship, or social, if based on adoption or convention (in polyandry, for instance).

According to the degree of kinship we distinguish between primary and secondary kin. The primary kin (consanguineous) extends to a person's parents and children, while any kin—consanguineous or affinal—related to a person through primary kin is secondary kin to him, a person's father's brother, for instance, or his step-mother, etc.

Descent is reckoned either bilaterally or unilaterally. In bilateral descent, kinship is recognized with both the parents' families (in many foodgathering communities), while in unilateral grouping, one of the two lines of descent is ignored. Consequently, descent is reckoned either only in the male line (the descendants of a common male ancestor are called agnates or patrilineal kin), or it is reckoned only in the female line (the descendants of a common ancestress are called uterine kin or matrilineal kin). The Moplah of South India, for instance, have a bilateral kinship; the family property is inherited in the female line, while self-acquired property is inherited in the male line.

But the terminology varies in different countries and also with different authors. The term "kin" was adopted by Andrew Lang and J.G. Frazer. R.H. Lowie uses the terms "sib," "clan," and "gens." According to his terminology, a "sib" is a unilateral kinship group which traces descent through one parent only, either father or mother, never both. "Clan" is a mother-sib, the child adopting the mother's sib name, while "gens" is a father sib, the child taking the father's sib name. However, the term "clan" is now generally accepted to denote groups with either patrilineal or matrilineal descent. It is doubtful whether Lowie's terminology will be universally accepted.

The term "tribe" usually refers to a relatively small group of families and clans, running at the most into a few thousand, who are at a low level of material culture, and owe allegience to one chief. In superior cultures, tribes may grow into very large communities; thus the Yoruba of West Africa number 5 million in Nigeria alone and occupy a territory almost as large as Britain. Over this area there rules not one chief, but many.

In all primitive societies certain kinship usages have been established which are more or less rigorously enforced. One set of rules imposes certain restraints on social relations between members of a kinship group. Such rules of avoidance govern the behaviour of parents-in-law and sons- or daughters-in-law. They are in force among the Philippines Negritos, the Winnepago and Dakota of North America, the tribes of Central India, the Batta of Sumatra, the Dayak of Borneo, the Man Coc and Man Pa Tong in Indo-China and others. The Bovandik of South Australia, for instance, have a special language for conversation between a man and his wife's mother, or a woman and her husband's father. Among the Victorian tribes of Australia, it was the custom for a mother-in-law to stay at least fifty yards away from her son-in-law. The Kurnai mother-in-law had to cover her head with a possum rug when she talked to her son-in-law. In Uganda a son-in-law may not look at his mother-in-law and not even speak to her, except through a partition or carefully closed door. These rules prevail mainly between kin relatives who cannot marry each other.

On the other hand, such restraints are absent and even replaced by a certain degree of intimacy between relatives who stand in a potential sex relationship. This is commonly called "joking relationship." It is the reverse of avoidance relationship. "Joking" may amount to exchange of abuse and banter, obscene or vulgar references to sex, damage to each other's property, ridicule, etc. It exists between social equals and is therefore mutual. Such "joking relationship" often exists between a man and his wife's younger sister, or a woman and and her husband's younger brother, between grandparents and grandchildren.

Sexual relationship is often hidden in address: it may be for reasons of modesty. Thus a man avoids calling his wife or his in-laws by their real names; he addresses his wife as the mother of his son or daughter, while a woman addresses her husband, if at all, as the father of her child. This custom is called teknonymy. In some tribes a person has to make up a new name for his in-laws, when speaking of them (Cape York Australian aborigines, inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island). Children may call their father "uncle," and their mother "aunt." This custom of avoiding the proper terms of relationship is wide-spread.

Special powers and rights are usually conceded to either the paternal or maternal uncles, a feature which is known by the name of "avunculate." Thus among the (matrilineal) Ashanti of Ghana (West Africa), the maternal uncle has all the rights of a father in paternal society elsewhere. Other tribes in the neighbourhood, north of the Ashanti, are now patrilineal, but the maternal uncle is still influential. He pays the bride-price, and exacts work from nephews and nieces. In certain tribes, especially in such with a matrilineal social organization, newly married couples often have to stay not with the parents of either the bride or the bridegroom, but with an uncle. If such a privileged position is granted to a father's sister, we speak of "amitate."

A very peculiar custom is found in certain primitive communities but sporadically all over the world, when a woman becomes pregnant or delivers a child. Her husband has to observe certain taboos during her pregnancy and often also to refrain from active life for some time after his wife's delivery. He goes on sick diet, stays in bed or is at least confined to the house, and often behaves as if he had given birth to the baby. B. Malinowski found the explanation for this custom in the father's desire to express his paternal affection; Lord Raglan called it an irrational belief; E. Ross imitative magic; but some modern psychologists maintain that the couvade, as this custom is called, expresses the conviction that a part of the father's life substance is transferred to the new-born child.

The couvade was common in ancient Europe among the Iberians, Basques and Corsicans. It is still found in Japan among the Ainu, in South China among the Miaotse, in Indo-China among the Miri, in South India among the Yerukula, Urali, Malapantaram, Toda and other tribes, and among the Khasi in Assam. Primitive tribes in Malaya, the Philippines, in Borneo, Nias, Buru, the Arapesh in New Guinea, etc. and in South America (Caribs of the West Indies, the Arowak) also practise the couvade.

In the foodgathering stage of culture, the kinship system is based on the natural individual family. Usually several natural families united by ties of kinship form a local group. This local group owns a well-defined area of land and all that grows on it. They have its usufruct, and live as hunters and collectors of vegetable food within its limits. The members of a local group associate and live, hunt and gather in a group. They have obligations towards each other, for protection, support in sickness and old age; they also have social obligations.

The local group is exogamous, since it consists generally of kinsmen. The sole exception are the South-East Australians.

While the local group system is general among the primitive foodgathering tribes, a few significant exceptions to this rule should be mentioned. Thus the Eskimos have no room for a joint family; each individual family fends for itself. Like the Eskimos, the Shoshones of North-West America, who live in a desert area, live also in single families. The Algonquians, on the other hand, while they still possess family hunting grounds, have already an initial form of totemism. Among the Californian foodgatherers, the local groups are almost sedentary. They have meeting houses which are centres of social life. Most African Pygmies have already totems with taboos and a clan system in which local exogamy has no place. These tribes have probably advanced in their social organization beyond the stage of mere local groups under the influence of their Negro neighbours. The South-East Australians have a peculiar kinship system; they have sex totemism; they are divided into two exogamous groups (a dual system!), and they have a strong belief in an ancestral pair.

Social life, however, is not entirely restricted to the local group wherever it exists. One local group stands in a certain relation to other local groups of the same tribe for the purpose of marriage, of periodic social gatherings (feasts, dances, dinners, etc.) and for the performance of the initation ceremonies where such ceremonies are held.

These kinship usages of the most primitive tribes, the food-gatherers, refute the theories of J.J. Rousseau, who stated that primeval man was utterly independent and carefree; of J. Locke, who maintained that he was completely free but desirous of civil power; and of T. Hobbes, who taught that primeval man was wholly anti-social, and lived in continuous conflict with his fellow-men. Such hypothetical statements, which are, however, still repeated with tiresome regularity, should be finally discarded as unscientific.

It must have been in primitive hunting cultures that the family and kinship system of the mere foodgatherers developed into the clan system. The clan system is in most—but by far not in all—hunting cultures intimately connected with totemism. Earliest totemism is an individual totemism. The belief in a totem derives probably from the belief in a bush or forest spirit (mountain spirit) who sends the game to the hunter.

Tribes with individual totemism believe that every human being has a genius or spiritual double associated with him either from the moment of his conception (tribes in Africa believe so), inherited from the father (that is believed by other African tribes), or acquired through special ceremonies. The Red Indians of North America widely believe that a totem spirit is acquired through severe penance, fasting and meditation of the individual. At such times, it is believed, the power of the totem makes itself felt and reveals itself to the individual aspirant as an animal, a plant or any other inanimate object. This particular animal, plant or object is then adopted as the totem. A person's abilities, faults, good or bad fortune are mysteriously linked to this totem. It is often believed that a person will die if his double is injured or killed.

After death, a person's vital power returns to the totem: the whole body, or a part of it (the blood) turns into the totem and leaves the grave. Sometimes it can be seen escaping from the grave.

This mysterious life power is equally present in the totem and in every individual who belongs to the same totem. In a later stage the totem is inherited. Then a whole group shares the totem. It is in a larger degree in the elders and especially in the head—the chief—of the social group.

The totem has its important functions as the protector, helper (in the hunt) and companion of the client, but also as the bringer of misfortune.

Certain rules and taboos have to be observed in connection with the totem: the totem animal may not be killed or eaten; often a clan member is not even permitted to touch it. When found dead, it is buried with funeral ceremonies and mourning. Only on rare occasions and by a few tribes is the totem animal killed and eaten in sacrifice. Offences against the taboo rules are severely punished by the totem spirit who causes serious illness or death.

In tribes with individual totemism the basic unit of the nuclear family is, as a rule, retained from the foodgathering stage of culture. Thus the Montagnais of North Canada live in bands consisting of families either akin or on friendly terms. All these families group themselves about a chief, whose authority is accepted by all. He is not always the most intelligent of the group; but, what is more important, he is the best hunter.

In tribes in which the totem of the individual is inherited by his sons and thus becomes the totem of a whole group of kinsmen—of a clan, a new principle comes into play. This stronger solidarity favours living and hunting in a larger social group. The final stage of this social evolution is the formation of a clan. With the emphasis on hunting, the male element becomes dominant and thus destroys the equality of the sexes found among the foodgatherers. The clan of the totemistic hunters is unilateral and patrilineal.

Clan totemism is the practice of a social group, without regard to sex or age, of entertaining a mysterious relationship as a group to a class of animals, plants or other material objects (W. Schmidt).

The idea is that all members of the group are either descended from the totem animal or plant, or that their first ancestors owe it some substantial favour. Thus North American Indian members of the bear clan maintain that they descend from a bear and a woman, and members of the dog clan believe that a dog and a woman were their ancestors. The Kamar in Central India believe that the members of their goat clan descend from a he-goat and a girl.

The Gond of Central India, on the other hand, have a goat clan whose members regard the goat as their totem because a goat which had been stolen by their ancestors for sacrifice turned into a pig when the theft was discovered and thus saved the thieves from punishment. The Korku of Central India have tree totems; in a battle their ancestors hid under various trees to save themselves from their enemies. The Balahi of Central India have snake and owl totems; these animals saved and protected the ancestors of these clans when by accident they had been left behind in the field as helpless babies.

Clans may split when they become too large; a kinship group acquires a new totem, which becomes more important, usually through some striking event. It also happens that a clan splits into part totems; for instance, a tiger clan may split into sections which regard the head, tail, claws, teeth, etc., of the tiger as their totems. This gives rise to the concept of a phratry, group of brother-clans.

Clans may also fuse, as when two clans adopt each other's totem and taboos. The effect of this totem belief is a strong feeling of relationship between the members of the same group; they consider each other as kinsmen or clan fellows. Clan ties often tend to replace family ties. The men especially are drawn into the company of the other members of their clan so much that their family life suffers. The members of a clan are often keenly aware that they have duties and rights with regard to their fellow clansmen.

These duties and rights are usually taken over by certain associations and age groups which are typical of totemistic cultures. They are directed and governed by the chiefs and elders whose authority is widely based on the belief that they are invested with a stronger totem force.

The functions of a totem clan are often quite extensive. But the most important of the functions is clan exogamy. It implies the prohibition of marriage inside the totem group. Clan exogamy supersedes the local exogamy; persons of the same village now may marry provided they are of different clans.

Clan totemism is widespread over the world; it is found in North and South America, in Africa, Australia and Melanesia. Individual totemism, on the other hand, is found mainly among the Red Indians of North America, in northern Asia and sporadically in Africa.

In India we find a centre of clan totemism in the South and another in Central India; the Central Indian tribes, however, seem to have adopted totemism as a secondary social system, because most of them have also the territorial group system (the Gond, Baiga, Munda, for instance).

Kinship is conceived in a different manner among the various agrarian cultures. In the primitive agrarian culture we notice that the loose joint family of the foodgatherers is often retained, nor is its bilateral character always discarded. Since members of one group now settle in more or less compact villages, the local group develops into a village community. Descendants of one ancestral village regard each other as relatives. There is village exogamy. A breach of the exogamy laws (incest) is regarded with horror and often severely punished. The Ashanti of West Africa had, in former times, both parties of such an offence killed. So do occasionally the primitive agrarian Korku of Central India. (They are totemists, but have plant totems.) The same custom is observed among the tribes of northern Borneo. Incest is regarded as a national calamity and its dreaded consequences can only be averted through the death of the offending parties.

The common bond which unites persons hailing from the same ancestral village has also a religious significance. The funeral ceremonies are often performed in their ancestral village. This custom is found in Central and North-East India, where the Munda, Gond and Korku perform such ceremonies and even erect memorial pillars or posts in the ancestral village.

The village community arranges, witnesses and supervises wedding and funeral feasts. It settles marriage disputes and declares a divorce. It discusses village affairs, settles quarrels and chastises offenders of the tribal law; it excommunicates, punishes and fines offenders. This is perhaps the origin of the *panchayat* system so famous in India.

We thus see that already in the primitive agrarian cultures the larger social organization is no more based on the family and kinship relationship, but on the village community. In the beginning the members of the village community are indeed often kinsmen, but later this is not always the case. The functions of the kinship group are now taken over by the village community.

In agrarian communities, which have their origin in an advanced hunting culture with a totemistic clan system, clans may first form the village communities. In course of time this order is often disturbed and parts of several clans may come to reside in a village. Commonly the bonds of the village community appear stronger than clan ties and authority rests in the village community and less so in the clan fellowship.

Social organization is often different, however, in tribes who have developed a matrilineal social structure. There the clan solidarity is generally stronger. A village is usually occupied by a single clan, with matrilineal descent, and a female clan head, who is generally the head of the eldest or highest family. The management of the clan need not always be exercised by a woman; often it is her brother who acts in her name. Thus the male element reasserts itself. Many of these tribes have totems, particularly plant or animal totems.

It is in these matriarchal cultures that we find the custom of "visit-marriage." The kinship ties may be so strong that neither husband nor wife are prepared to separate from their kinship group. Consequently, a man does not live with his wife, but visits her only at times fixed by convention. This custom was found in the past among the Naga tribes of Manipur, among the Nair of South India and it is still in practice among the Khasi of Assam. It is also in vogue among tribes in central and eastern Africa, and in America among the Iroquois from whom some Algonquian tribes and the Assiniboin may have borrowed the custom. Visit-marriage is also found among the Pueblo Indians (till the first child is born), among the Caribs of the West Indies, in Brazil (Bororo), in New Guinea, Borneo and Fiji. It was found in ancient Sparta. But animal breeders too, like the Yakut, Kuril and Samoyed of Siberia, practise it. It is likely, however, that they adopted this custom from matriarchal cultures.

The custom of exchanging girls in marriage prevalent in foodgathering tribes develops in these agrarian cultures into the firm institution of the preferential cross-cousin marriage. It is particularly common in central and southern India. In certain regions this institution develops into a dual division of the whole tribe or of a village. An endogamous tribal group is divided for the purpose of marriage into two exogamous parts (moieties) which in the course of time adopted often other distinctive features and peculirities. If a dualistic community lives in a communal house, a partition may be erected between the two moieties; if they live in the same village, they are often separated by a river (like the Sakya and Koli on the river Rohana in northern India, the houses of the king and queen in Uganda, the tribes on Fiji). The dual system developed in certain regions into a three-class system and some tribes complicated it further till it ended in a ten-class system.

Kinship is conceived in a different manner by the nomadic animal breeders of Asia. Here the smallest unit of the kinship group is the extended joint family, i.e., the adult sons with their wives and children living in a common household with their parents and subject to their father, the patriarch. But even within a joint family the members of it are not of equal rank. The principle of primogeniture gives a higher social status to the eldest son and his family. This is so at least in advanced pastoral societies. Moreover, the children of concubines and slave girls are graded lower in rank than the offspring of legitimately wedded wives.

Should a member of lower social rank be ancestor to a new kinship group, all the members of that group and their descendants would be of inferior social rank. Only by increasing their wealth or by displaying extraordinary bravery or skill in warfare could they hope to rise in rank.

Usually several extended joint families group themselves into a local group, the heads of these families being kin relatives. A number of such local groups then form a so-called lineage, and a group of lineages may form a clan, still tracing descent from a common ancestor. These clans may form a clan federation; but a society of that extent would better be called a political group, the ties of consanguinity being of necessity loose and distant. Moreover, such federations are generally unstable and likely to break apart, due to competition, jealousy, warfare and migration of the individual smaller units.

Instances of such an extensive and complicated kinship organization are found among the Buriat, Kazakh, the Khalkha Mongol and Kalmuck tribes, but not among the Altai Turk, Telenget and Teleut, who are still in a rather primitive stage of pastoralism.

In theory the fiction is often maintained that all members of a tribe, however numerous and extended over an area, descend from one common ancestor. The supposition is that all fellow tribesmen are related at least by agnatic consanguinity.

In practically all these tribes descent is patrilineal.

These various forms of kinship unions are strengthened by communal feasts and sacrifices. The rites are performed by kinship groups of various sizes, from the local group to the whole clan, depending on the importance of the feast and its occasion. These kinship unions are further strengthened by the belief in the existence of special guardian spirits watching over them. The priests functioning in these rites are not usually professionals (shamans), but the heads of the celebrating groups.

On marriage, a woman enters the clan of her husband, but she is not always fully adopted into the clan. Thus the Buriat, for instance, do not allow women to take part in their husbands' sacrifices. But, on the other hand, they are also barred, once they are married, from attending the clan sacrifices of their natal kin.

We thus see that in the Asiatic animal breeding tribes no new principle has been introduced for a larger social grouping, as in the totemistic and agrarian societies. Still, the animal breeding tribes have formed societies larger than the extended joint family, based on the kinship system. Hence the development of their social structure has not disturbed the basic unit, the family, as in the totemistic and agrarian cultures. The strong solidarity of the larger kinship groups in the animal breeding cultures has perhaps in the past been responsible for the great force and irresistible drive with which these tribes engaged in conquest and built up great empires.

Because the African cattle breeders evolved probably from advanced hunting cultures or from agrarian communities, their kinship organization manifests a somewhat different development. Many have clans, even totemistic patrilineal clans, like the Shilluk, while other tribes are organized in matrilineal clans.

CHAPTER X

FAMILY AND KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN INDIA

THE family and kinship systems in India follow the pattern outlined in the preceding chapter. They naturally differ at various cultural levels. For a clearer exposition of the whole matter we divide the Indian population into that of the aboriginal cultures, of matriarchal India and Hindu India. The aboriginal cultures we divide again into those of South India and of Central India.

1. *Among the Primitives of South India*

(*a*) *Marriage and Family*. No uniform family pattern can be discovered among the primitive tribes of southern India, for most of these tribes have, though themselves foodgatherers or primitive cultivators, been strongly influenced by their neighbours more advanced in culture. Thus the Kadar, Paliyan, Mala Pulaya, Hill-Pantaram are patrilineal, while many other tribes are fully or at least partly matrilineal. The Vishavan, for instance, make the sister's son the heir, never a woman; among the Cheenganni Vedan the sons inherit two-third of the property; among the Cheru Vedan the sons inherit half, the sister's sons the other half of the property. The same is true of the Kanikar and Ulladan, while the Muduvan and Thanta Pulayan make the sister's sons heirs of all the property. This shows that in certain tribes a compromise between the patrilineal and the matrilineal systems was achieved.

In the manner of acquiring mates the South Indian tribes follow various methods: among some tribes the marriage is arranged by the parents or other relatives; so it is among the Kadar, Kanikar, Hill-Pantaram, Ulladan, Vishavan, Urali and Thanta Pulayan. Probationary marriage or marriage by trial is not found among these tribes. But marriage by capture is common among the Mannan, and

Badaga, and frequent among the Muduvan. Marriage by elopement is common among the Kadar, Mannan, Urali and Sholaga. In the latter tribe, the eloped couples return usually after three days, when they are considered as married. Marriage by intrusion is found among the Chenchu. It is sufficient if a man keeps a girl who has entered his hut for a single day to consider them a pair. The most common form of marriage among these tribes is, however, marriage by exchange. The Urali, for instance, practise the exchange of sisters; a boy who cannot give a sister in exchange has little chance of finding a wife, while on the other hand a boy with several sisters can marry as many wives as he has sisters. Such an exchange of sisters is common also among the Vishavan, Mala Vedan and Hill-Pantaram. Only a few tribes demand a bride-price; so do the Karavali Pulaya, while the Kurumba Pulaya demand no bride-price. The Mala Kuruvan demand Rs. 2.50. The Kadar demand a dowry, not so the Paliyan.

Pre-marital sex-relations are permitted, or at least tolerated, by almost all the tribes and are in fact quite frequent. But they usually end with the pregnancy of the girl. It is so among the Vishavan, for instance, where pre-marital chastity is rare. An exception, however, are the Muduvan, who strictly forbid pre-marital sex relations and impose a severe punishment on offenders of this law. They have a bachelor hall for the unmarried boys and a sleeping house for the girls where they are kept under supervision. The Urali merely fine a boy when they discover him with a girl and make him marry her.

No uniformity exists with regard to the numerical pattern of marriage; some tribes, like the Kadar and Nayadi, practise compulsory monogamy, at least, as long as a marriage lasts; other tribes permit polygyny, or polyandry, or both. Polygynous marriages are permitted by the Thanta Pulaya for economic reasons; they are also permitted by the Muduvan, where the first wife is considered superior; it is in practice among the Mala Kuruvan and Mala Pulaya, and prevalent among the Ulladan and Mala Vedan. On the other hand, the Muduvan of the Cardamon Hills are purely monogamous while the Kanikar allow at least some exceptions; if a man has more than one wife, the second wife is usually the sister of the first one. As said before, an Urali boy may marry as many wives as he has sisters for exchange. The Mala Aryan, Paliyan and Mannan permit polygyny if the first wife proves sterile; the Paliyan permit in such a case marriage with a sister of the first wife.

Polyandry is permitted among the Muduvan of the plateau, but they forbid fraternal polyandry. Among the Ulladan fraternal polyandry is rare, though not forbidden; in its other form polyandry is frequent. This degenerates into a veritable promiscuity among the Vishavan and Mala Pulaya. Polyandry is rare among the Urali and Mannan. The Palyan practise fraternal polyandry, the younger brother sharing the wife of the elder one. The Mala Aryan practise fraternal polyandry but rarely.

In choosing their mates many tribes have a preference for their cross-cousins; this is the established rule among the Hill-Pantaram (marriage between the children of a brother and sister), Nayadi and Muduvan; it is also found among the Vedda of Ceylon. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred among the Ulladan (with the daughter of a boy's maternal uncle), the Kuruvan (who allow marriage only with the daughter of the maternal uncle), the Mala Asiyar who allow also marriages with the daughters of a father's sister, the Mala Vedan, Mala Pulaya, Paliyan, Mannan and Kadar. The Vishavan, however, prohibit cross-cousin marriage.

Some of these tribes also practise levirate; so do the Vedda, Ulladan, Kanikar, Mannan and Mala Pulaya. Among the latter tribe, the elder brother may even marry the widow of his younger brother, while a Paliyar may marry the widow of his elder or younger brother. Levirate is not permitted among the Muduvan and Mala Vedan.

Sororate is common among the Kanikar; in a polygynous marriage the second wife is usually the sister of the first one. It is also practised among the Mala Kuruvan, the Mala Pulaya and Urali. Among the Paliyan a man who wants to take a second wife can only marry the sister of his first wife. The Mala Vedan, on the other hand, prohibit sororate.

All these tribes permit divorce for husband and wife; the Nayadi permit divorce only when the wife has committed adultery.

(*b*) *Kinship Groups*. Most of the South Indian tribes practise tribal endogamy. An exception is made by the Kadar who allow their women to have sex relations with the estate labourers coming from the plains. Usually the tribes of a lower social status accept marriage partners from tribes or castes of a higher social status.

Among these tribes a kind of territorial endogamy is also quite common; only groups within a certain area intermarry. Among the Mala Pulaya we find three endogamous groups.

The rules of exogamy are not uniform; only kinship exogamy is general among all the tribes, though the principles which constitute a kinship group may vary.

Some tribes have a peculiar form of clan exogamy. Thus the Hill-Pantaram have two groups of three or four families each in one locality; these groups are exogamous, though they bear no special names. The Nakikar have two clans in one locality, four in another; intermarriage is permitted among two only; the two socially higher clans intermarry among themselves, and so do the two inferior clans. But a member of a higher clan may not take a partner from the socially inferior clan. The Mala Vedan also have four classes—two by two, just as the Kanikar. The Vedda of Ceylon have matrilineal clan exogamy.

2. *Among the Primitive Tribes of Central India*

(*a*) *Family and Marriage*. Various are the ways of acquiring mates among the aboriginal tribes of Central India. Most common is the arrangement of a marriage by the parents of the marrying parties. Marriage by capture is now rare, but it must have been frequent in the past. The Savara still practise this form of marriage, and also the Koi; the Baiga, Gond, and Khond perform a mock-fight during their wedding ceremonies. Marriage by trial was an established form among the Bhil; in recognition of courage or bravery a Bhil could select his wife without paying a brideprice for her. Among the Bonda Gadaba a girl tested her suitor by burning him with a faggot.

But marriage by purchase is still the most common form of marriage. Another popular way of acquiring a mate is by service. The bridegroom has to serve his prospective parents-in-law for a certain number of years. The wedding takes place when the service is over; the wedding expenses are paid by the bride's father. Marriage by exchange—two families exchanging daughters—is also frequent. Marriage by mutual consent and subsequent elopement is the usual form of marriage among the Bhilala and Gadaba, while marriage by intrusion—a girl entering the house of her lover and disclosing her intention of living with him—is also practised though not frequently.

In the choice of mates the preference for cross-cousins is very marked among the Gond and Baiga. Levirate, a man marrying the widow of his deceased elder brother, and sororate, a man marrying his wife's younger sisters, are practised by a few tribes only in Central India.

Pre-marital sex relations are openly tolerated among the tribes which possess youth dormitories; but other tribes frown upon such liberty though they also may be very lenient in punishing such relations. Among all these tribes pre-marital sex relations end with the pregnancy of the girl who in such a case is quickly married off, not always to her lover.

Though most of the tribal marriages in Central India are monogamous, polygyny is prohibited by no tribe. On the contrary, it is regarded as a sign of wealth and increases a man's social prestige. Polyandry is found only among the tribes living on the fringes of Central India, on the southern slopes of the Himalayas and in Assam. It is usually in the form of fraternal polyandry. Among the Central Indian tribes sex relations of a woman with her husband's younger brothers are not punished, though not publicly permitted.

No tribe of Central India permits or even tolerates extra-marital sex relations, except such of a woman with her husband's younger brothers.

Divorce is permitted by all tribes for the husband; the wife, however, may force a divorce on her husband by eloping with another man. A compensation must be paid by her new husband, while no compensation is granted to the husband who divorces his wife. Widow marriage is generally permitted, except in tribes Hinduized and aspiring to a high rank in the caste hierarchy.

The family system is with few exceptions patriarchal and patrilineal. Most families live in joint groups, that is, the married sons stay together with their father in one common household.

No marriage is stable without children. A woman without children must expect a divorce or a co-wife. Children are generally well treated though they receive little formal education. No initiation ceremonies are performed by any tribe. Adoption is widely practised by childless couples.

(*b*) *Kinship Organization.* Tribal endogamy is the rule among almost all tribes; exceptions proved in the past the Baiga and Gond, and the Ahir. But even now tribes of an inferior social status accept partners from the superior tribes and Hindu castes. A kind of territorial endogamy also exists; daughters are rarely given in marriage to men living at a great distance.

Many tribes are split into endogamous groups and sections which do not intermarry. The reason for this prohibition is generally the varying degree of Hinduisation. The more Hinduized tribal sections consider themselves superior and refuse intermarriage with the less Hinduized lower sections. Such grades exist among the Gond (Rajgond and ordinary Gond), Bhil (Ujale and Male Bhil), Bhilala (Bara Bhilala and Barela), Korku and Munda, etc.

Most tribes practise kinship exogamy in various degrees of relationship. The more a tribe is Hinduized, the larger is his exogamous kinship group. Wide-spread is, besides clan and kinship exogamy, a kind of village or territorial exogamy, which is, however, not always strictly enforced.

3. *Among the Patrilineal Tribes of Assam*

The aboriginal tribes of Assam are generally organized in patrilineal clans. They observe clan and kinship exogamy. Offenders against the exogamy laws are punished; usually they receive a severe beating. These tribes generally observe tribal and often even village endogamy. Some of the tribes, like the Tangsa (Yogli) have a dual system, that is, one section of the tribe marrying into the other.

Boys and girls are free in the choice of their marriage partners, though in most cases the approval of the parents must be obtained. This is the custom among the Abor and Tangsa. Among the Dafla the marriage is arranged by the father. A bride-price has to be paid which consists in animals and agricultural products. The bride-price is paid in the form of gifts. To avoid its payment, sisters may be exchanged by the marrying boys. But this can only take place if the sisters agree to such marriages.

Pre-marital sex relations are freely permitted, either in the dormitories wherever such exist, or in the houses of the girls. Such sex relations are considered as a manner of courting. When a girl becomes pregnant, these sex relations cease and she is married off, not always to the father of her first child.

Polygyny is permitted but rare. A man may take a second wife if his first one proves barren. But most marriages remain monogamous. This is true of such tribes as the Abor and Tangsa. The Dafla, however, are polygynous, a wealthy man having often as many as eight wives. Patrilineal tribes have no polyandry.

Divorce is easy for both husband and wife, though in general it is not approved of by the community. Remarriage is not difficult. In divorce sons go with the father, daughters with the mother.

Extra-marital sex relations are a reason for divorce; a man caught in adultery may be beaten severely and fined while the woman is only scolded.

Most Assamese hill tribes live in joint families which break up only due to quarrels or to scarcity of field plots. Each nuclear family however has a separate room in the paternal house.

Family life is often postponed till after the birth of several children; until then visit-marriage is practised. A wife enjoys an almost equal social position in the family; she is only excluded from the sacrifice of a *mithun* (half-wild cattle).

Economically women are equally important; they do most of the agricultural work, in addition to their house-work.

Children are much wanted. But they receive no formal education. They are gradually and informally instructed and introduced into work and tribal custom and usage.

4. *In Matriarchal India*

(*a*) *Marriage and Family*. India has two matriarchal centres, one on the Malabar coast and the other in Assam.

In Malabar the Hindu Nair, Tiya and Mukkuvan, as also the Mohammedan Moplah and the inhabitants of the outlying Laccadive and Amindivi Islands follow the matriarchal system. These groups have matriarchal joint families with matrilineal descent. They include all descendants of a common female ancestress and live in community houses (*taravad*). These joint families form economic units and are headed by a matron. Particularly among the Nair the women enjoy a high social status; they are known for their energy, intelligence and beauty.

The eldest daughter of the oldest woman (matron) in the *taravad* enjoys a privileged position; she acts as the second-in-command to the matron. The latter is, however, actually only the nominal head of the *taravad*; its real head is her eldest brother (*karanavan*). He acts as the agent of the female head of the joint family; and is legal guardian of every member of it. He is supposed to support them all; on the other hand he has full and absolute control of the family property. All his efforts are directed towards an increase of his *taravad's* wealth, the rise of its social rank and the promotion of its prosperity. His own children have no share in it, as they belong to the *taravad* of their mother. He cares only for his nephews and nieces, for whom he often also selects the marriage partners.

The origin of the South-Indian matriarchal system is still obscure; it is probably connected with the Indus Valley culture or with matriarchal societies in East Africa or Arabia. Many low castes and hill tribes of Malabar have fully or at least partly adopted the matriarchal system from their influential overlords, the Nair.

The marriage system of these matriarchal castes is complicated. A girl was first married by the so-called *talikettu kalayanam*, a ceremony something between an initiation and marriage. At this marriage, the bride formerly underwent defloration either by the bridegroom, or a substitute (father-in-law, a Nambudiri Brahman or a foreigner). This marriage was then dissolved and the girl could contract the so-called *sambandham* marriage, preferably with a son of her maternal uncle (cross-cousin marriage), though she could also marry an outsider, even a member of a different caste of equal or higher social rank.

At present monogamy is the rule; but in former times sororal polygyny as well as polyandry were common among all these castes. A woman, however, could only consort with men of equal or higher social rank. Thus Nair women frequently married Nambudiri Brahmans, among whom only the eldest brother could marry a woman of his caste, while the younger brothers married Nair women. Tiyan women often lived with Europeans, and Mukkuvan women associated with Arabs. The children of such unions remained with their mothers.

Where this ancient tradition is still observed, marriage is matrilocal (uxorilocal), that is, the woman remains in her mother's house, making herself thus financially and socially completely independent of her husband. He either joined her or visited her only at night. If a woman had several husbands, she was visited by them in turns regulated by custom. A woman rarely ever visited the house of her husband; not even his children did so, especially if they belonged to a different caste.

Divorce was easy; a woman could dismiss her husband, or husbands, at will. But also the husband could easily divorce his wife. He simply stayed away. Children remained with the mother.

In modern times the matriarchal family system of Malabar is rapidly changing into a patriarchal system, which is more in accord with the generally accepted mores of the Indian population. Closer contact with the rest of India, modern education and the pressure of public opinion force a different way of mating and living on the matriarchal groups in Malabar. Especially the Nair have begun to feel ashamed of their different marriage customs, of polyandry, visit-marriage and frequent divorce. Moreover, overpopulation has forced many men to seek employment away from their ancestral homes, and even outside Malabar. They want to take their wives with them to their new homes. Strict adherence to the matriarchal system would be difficult in their new surroundings. Economic conditions in the whole of India favour a break-down of the joint-family system. Malabar is also affected by these trends. Thus the Marumakkatayam Acts of Madras and the Nair Act of Travancore, promulgated not so long ago, permitted partition of the *taravad* properties. Now the new Hindu Succession Act of 1956 has dealt a further hard blow to the matriarchal joint-family tradition of Malabar. Its disappearance is only a question of time.

The change from the matriarchal to the patriarchal family system is already in full swing among the Nair, especially in the urban areas and outside Malabar. Among the rural population and the lower castes, like the Ezhevas, the old system still prevails more or less in its old force and may linger on for a considerable time.

A second centre of matriarchy in India exists in Assam among the Khasi, Synteng and Garo. The origin of this matriarchal system is also obscure. Since the Khasi speak an Austro-Asiatic language like matriarchal tribes of Indo-China, it is possible that they brought this peculiar social system from their former habitats. It would then be of considerable age, for the Khasi and Synteng are of all the tribes the oldest in Assam. But it is also possible that they adopted matriarchy after their immigration to Assam from immigrants from the west, who originally belonged to the Mohenjo daro culture. These immigrants may later have adopted the patriarchal system when they were Aryanized, while the Khasi and Synteng retained their matriarchal system. The existence of a matriarchal people in the valleys south of the Himalayas in pre-Vedic times is not improbable. Elements of a matriarchal social system are not only found in the tribes now living in the Himalayas, but also among the low Hindu castes of North India who may be survivals of the Indus Valley culture. Even the sacred scriptures of Hinduism speak of polyandry among some of the ancient tribes (Kunti and her sons; the Pandava brothers and their common wife Draupadi; etc.). Several tribes in the Himalayan valleys still practise polyandry, like the Khasas, though their social organization is now patrilineal.

The Khasi, Garo and Synteng live in a matriarchal joint family, with matrilineal descent, uniting in it the direct descendants of a grandmother or great-grandmother. This family of brothers and sisters, the great-grandchildren of the female ancestress, inhabit one house with three rooms. Marriage is matrilocal; the husband lives in the house of his wife. The Synteng, however, practise visit-marriage. Among the Khasi a man may found a separate home after the birth of one or two children, but the house is built in the compound of his wife's mother. Economically he is however independent.

Among the three tribes monogamy is the rule, polygyny rare and polyandry absent. However, a man may keep a mistress.

In the joint family the maternal uncle enjoys a privileged position, though his influence is not as great as in the matriarchal societies of Malabar. A man has some authority over his wife and children.

Inheritance is in the female line; the youngest daughter is the main heir. In the matrilocal family all earnings, of males as well as of females, are pooled together and entrusted to the management of the head woman. According to traditional law, men have no right to individual property, whether they are husbands or sons. But in modern times all that a man earns through his own work remains his private property.

Among the Khasi, Garo and Synteng a woman enjoys high social status and exercises considerable power; the men have less authority. Agriculture is mainly carried out by the men, while the weaving is done by women. Both sexes earn money as porters. Nowadays a Khasi woman addresses her husband as "lord." Thus here also we notice a change towards patriarchal family.

The family is also the religious unit; but its centre is the youngest daughter. In the absence of a daughter another girl may be adopted for this function. The Khasi and Synteng worship household goddesses and female ancestor spirits. Sacrifices are performed by the women.

Divorce is permitted for several reasons and for both sexes; some of the valid reasons for divorce are: marital infidelity, sterility, incompatibility of the marriage partners. A divorce is always made public; and a compensation must be paid by the new husband. The children remain with the mother.

(*b*) *Kinship.* In South-Indian matriarchal communities the kinship group consists of the *taravad*, the matrilineal joint family. Within this joint family exogamy is observed; persons descended in the female line from a common ancestress cannot marry each other.[1]

Inheritance is also in the female line; it is called the Marumakkatthayam system. It is somewhat modified in Moplah society. Among the Moplahs only the family property is inherited in the female line, while acquired property is handed on to the heirs according to the rules of the Moslem law, which is patrilineal.

In Assam we find matrilineal, strictly exogamous clans and sub-clans, with a mythical ancestress. The clans are of unequal social status; they have royal, priestly and ordinary clans.

5. *In Vedic India*

(*a*) *Marriage and Family.* In Vedic times marriage was indispensable for male and female. A man had to get married to go through the second stage of his *ashram* (stages of life)—the *grihastha*. He could not find peace after death unless a son performed his funeral rites.

---

[1] Stray elements of the matriarchal system are found among many lower castes of South India, especially among the Parayan and Pulayan, but also among the Malaialis of the Shevararoy Hills, the Vellala and Goundan of Coimbatore District, the Reddi of Tinnevelly, the Tottiyan (Telugu) and the Kappiliyan (Canarese). Some of these tribes and castes have a peculiar marriage system; small boys marry adult girls, while the latter cohabit with the boy-husbands' fathers.

The essential ceremonies in the Vedic marriage ritual were: firstly the gift of the daughter by the father to the bridegroom (*kanyadan*); secondly, the kindling of the wedding fire (Agni) as the divine witness and sanctifier of the ceremony; thirdly, the holding of the bride's hands by the bridegroom; fourthly, the walking of bridegroom and bride over seven steps, the bridegroom leading. The last rite was the carrying off of the bride by the bridegroom (*vivaha*—carrying away).

The ways of choosing a mate were many in Vedic India: one way was called *brahma*, if the father gave his daughter to a learned man of good character; *daiva*, if the daughter was given to a priest; *arsha*, if the bridegroom paid for the bride a bull and a cow. The marriage was called *asura*, if other gifts were made and it was a marriage by purchase; this was considered unlawful. *Gandharva* was a union based on mutual love, even when it was contracted without any rites. In *parjapatya* a father gave away his daughter to a man of his choice; in *rakshasa* the bride was abducted by force—a lawful form of marriage. *Paisacha* was the seduction of a sleeping, intoxicated or demented girl. This latter form of marriage was unlawful.

A widower was free to marry, but not a widow whom not even death could detach from her husband. In extreme cases it even resulted in *sati*—widow burning.

Divorce seems to have been practised in early Vedic times, but later it was declared unlawful.

The Vedic family was a joint family, sons living with their parents even after marriage, while daughters moved to the home of their in-laws. The head of the family was the patriarch who ruled with absolute authority as head and priest of the family. Residence was patrilocal, and descent was only reckoned in the male line. The social status of women was inferior.

Polygyny was freely permitted. In certain parts of Vedic India even polyandry was practised; examples are Draupadi and Kunti. Proof of the exsistence of polyandry among the

Uttara Kurus in Pandu's time is found in the Mahabharata. Guest prostitution was also practised; an example is Satyakama Jabala, the mother of Svetaketu. Sororate and levirate were quite common among the Vedic Aryans.

(*b*) *Kinship Groups.* Marriage could take place only within one's class (*varna*) and caste (*jati*). Kinship exogamy extended beyond seven degrees on the father's side (beyond *gotra* and *pravara*) and beyond five degrees on the mother's (beyond *sapinda*).

They also practised the system of hypergamy; a girl could marry only within her own group or into the next higher one, never into a lower group.

6. *In Hindu India*

(*a*) *Marriage and Family.* Marriage is necessary for all Hindus for the same reasons as in Vedic India. The ceremonies of the wedding are essentially the same. But only one form of marriage is permitted to high-caste Hindus: the one arranged by parents and performed with the traditional ritual. In the past a girl had to be married before she reached puberty. Only in modern times this rule has been largely abolished. The bride joins the family of her husband immediately after marriage, though the marriage is consummated only after the first menstruation of the bride.

The Hindu family is a sacred institution deriving sanction from religious and ancient social traditions, of a pseudo-historical, mythical and legendary character. The ideal for every Hindu woman is Sita, the wife of Rama. The Hindu family is a joint family. It is composed entirely of agnatic relations, that is, relations through males, adopted persons, their wives and unmarried daughters. The joint family is the poor man's main and often sole form of security in sickness and old age. It assures the education of the children. It is a strictly patriarchal family. Its head rules as a despot, possessing absolute power over his family. He is also the family priest; his right and duty is to offer the funeral oblations to the ancestors. In the absence of a son another boy can be adopted to take his place.

Residence is patrilocal. Even a child-widow has to reside with her in-laws.

Descent is reckoned in the male line only. Property and name pass from father to son. Ancestral property can be alienated only on grounds of strict legal necessity. At the death of the head of the family, the joint family may break apart; if it continues united, the eldest son takes over, but not always.

The position of women is inferior. A wife must be maintained by her husband, but traditionally she has no right to his property. According to ancient tradition a woman cannot divorce her husband, though a man can dismiss his wife. In higher castes a widow cannot remarry, even if the marriage was never consummated. In a Hindu family a woman is always subject: either to her father before marriage, or to her husband when married, and in widowhood to her eldest son. However, some women have a strong influence on the male members of their families; their position depends much on their character and personality. The influence of the mother on her sons and their wives is proverbially strong. The relations between a woman and her daughters-in-law are often strained.

Polygyny is permitted; it is often practised in case the first wife is barren.

Male issue is much desired for religious, social and economic reasons; daughters are not wanted, but when born, not ill-treated. A son is a necessity for the spiritual welfare of his father after death. He performs the funeral oblation and the *sraddha* ceremony. The souls of the departed are constantly dependent on the *pindas*, balls of food, which the surviving relatives offer. A daughter is only a temporary member of the family into which she is born. All she can claim is maintenance as long she is unmarried, and the wedding expenses when she gets married. A widow is not allowed to return to her parents; she remains in the family of her deceased husband.

This is the traditional pattern of Hindu marriage and family. Of course, there exist many local and ethnical variations. The lower Hindu castes often permit widow marriage, and are less strict in observing the laws of exogamy. But the higher the caste, the closer is the conformity to the ideal pattern of the Hindu marriage and family.

7. *Marriage and Family in Modern Times*

It was long felt that the laws laid down in the ancient Dharmashastras required modification in the light of modern conditions of living and thinking. There was a special need for relaxing the *gotra* exogamy, for members of a *gotra* are now often very numerous, so that frequently members of the same *gotra* are no more kinsmen whatever.

A new Hindu Marriage Act was promulgated in 1955. It was much discussed. Its main purpose was the removal of the endogamous restrictions of caste and the exogamous restrictions of the *gotra*, the permission of divorce, the registration of marriage in harmony with ritual ceremonial, and the inheritance of property with equal rights for daughters. From now on marriage between persons related beyond five generations on the father's side and three on the mother's side is no more forbidden, even where it had not been a local custom.

Hindu marriage customs have undergone certain changes in modern times. Child marriage, at least in towns, is gradually disappearing; many high-caste Hindus are now reluctant to give their daughters away in marriage before their education is completed. Polygamy is discouraged and in fact prohibited by the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955. Widow remarriage is now no more so infrequent in high castes than before. Though it was legally permitted since 1856, it was still strongly disapproved by the caste councils and punished with expulsion from the caste community. At present even intercaste and inter-religious marriages are on the increase.

Under the new Hindu Succession Act of 1956 daughters have the same rights of inheritance as sons. Women can own property in their own right, whether they have acquired or inherited it or it was gifted to them. Ornaments alone do not necessarily become a woman's absolute property; it depends on the intention of the donor. If the ornaments are gifted to the family, the women of the house are allowed to make use of them on special occasions, but they cannot sell them or otherwise dispose them.

Everywhere joint families are breaking up. While in former times when one man had a windfall it became at once a joyful family occasion, today that man intends to enjoy it alone or with his own family. A growing individualism and independence are disfavourable to the survival of the joint family system. Young wives, more particularly if educated, are now less prepared to submit to the rule of their in-laws. The control of the young men over their own earnings gives them greater opportunity for independence.

Still, public opinion based on ancient caste traditions expects a man of some means to support his parents, to assist needy relatives, to pay for the education of the younger members in his family, to help in emergency, and to contribute goods and services at numerous family feasts.

CHAPTER XI

ASSOCIATIONS AND CLASSES

IN the previous chapters we have studied and analysed the basic natural societies of primitive man. We have seen that in a further development of the kinship system two new factors were introduced which led to a modification and expansion of the natural human societies: the clan, and the village community.

In this chapter we shall discuss a further complication of primitive social life, the formation of classes and associations.

A class is a rank or order of persons within a society; while an association is a union of persons joined together to promote some common object following rules for common action.

The existence of classes in a given society is the result of social inequality. Such social inequality may be based on natural factors and is therefore found already in the most primitive stage of culture, among the foodgatherers. Thus already in the most primitive society a dichotomy of human beings exists based on sex. The sexes are naturally divided in their occupations and duties, in religion and ritual. But this dichotomy is not yet very strictly and rigidly observed; it is still in a basic and fluid state. Consequently, among the foodgatherers men may help women in collecting vegetable food while the women occasionally join in the hunt. The men may do the household chores whenever the women are prevented from doing the work usually assigned to them. In religion and ritual too the dichotomy is not always strictly adhered to, though a tendency for it is unmistakable.

Also a rudimentary formation of age classes is noticeable: the members of a tribe are divided into those who have not yet been initiated, those who are being initiated and those who have completed their initiation. Among some tribes boys and girls must observe certain fasts and taboos during initiation and are segregated; thus they are set apart from the rest of the tribal community.

Thus in North-Central California the Yuki and Maidu distinguish quite clearly between the initiated and initiands during the initiation ceremonies which last from autumn to spring; that is, for half a year. Also in South-East Australia the distinction between the initiated and the uninitiated is of great social import. This division is the more important because initiation is spread over a number of years. The initiands acquire also secret knowledge, the "secret of the bullroarer." Among the Andamanese, who are also in other aspects in a transitional stage from that of mere foodgatherers into one of a higher and more complex culture, age grades are already well developed. The young people have to observe certain food taboos which are progressively removed with the years.

Another dichotomy observed already in the earliest stage of society is the division of the people into married and yet unmarried persons. The matrimonial state changes the social status of men and women. There is segregation, and different rules of conduct apply to each group.

Permanent associations, however, for the pursuance of certain special aims and purposes, are rare in this stage of culture. The economic life of the foodgatherers is still too self-contained and uncomplicated for that. Still, the Selknam and Yamana of Tierra del Fuego have associations which come into play during initiation and assume the leadership in the ritual. The Kina rites of the Yamana and the Ciexaus of the Selknam are clearly rudimentary beginnings of associations. The Pygmies of the Congo have a society (Tore) which also performs the initiation ceremonies of the boys. But the Pygmies may have adopted this association from the neighbouring Negro tribes.

It is only in the foodproducing stage of culture that the progress and the expansion of cultural activities afford a sharp stimulus for the formation and development of classes and associations.

Only the animal breeding tribes of Asia make an exception. No associations are found among them. The joint family with its extensions into lineages, clans and clan federations is a complete substitute for all associational tendencies.

All persons belong primarily and exclusively to the joint family. Thus no associations nor even age classes could develop. The rigid family discipline would not tolerate such extra-familial activities.

In the advanced stages of pastoralism, however, class differences have developed: on the principle of wealth the members of a tribe may be divided into the rich and the poor; while on the principle of genealogy they may be divided into aristocrats, commoners and serfs or slaves. Families that have amassed wealth and have been able to hold it for several generations tend to marry among themselves and even become endogamous as, for instance, the "White Bones" and the "Black Bones" among the Mongols. This tendency, however, is only found among the culturally more advanced horse and sheep breeders (Kazakh, Kalmuck, and Kirghiz); not among the more primitive reindeer breeders (Tungus, etc.), who prevent such class distinctions by dividing their herds periodically and sharing them with the poor. The nobility among the horse and sheep breeders boasts of special insignia, a code of honour and a funeral ritual with bloody sacrifices. All grades are most anxious to maintain the purity of their line. The ancient Jews, for instance, jealously guarded their ancestral registers in which a family's genealogy was recorded. And if a man married beneath his station, his children were treated as inferiors and could not find spouses among the people of their father's rank.

Also among the African cattle breeders (Bantu, for instance) cattle wealth results in social elevation.

The division of the Asiatic animal breeders into rich and poor, nobles and commoners, is a class division, not a division into new associations. For these classes do not pursue specific aims and purposes. If any social group of the animal breeding tribes could be called an association, it is the "horde." But the hords is more a political federation than a tribal association; in it the young men of several sections of a tribe, and often several tribes, band themselves together for the purpose of war for attack and defence. Among the Kazakh, for instance, such hordes were known as the "Great Horde," the "Middle Horde" and the "Small Horde."

1. *Age Grades and Functional Associations*

Associations and age grades are found in great number and variety among the other foodproducing cultures, especially among the tribes which combine hunting with primitive cultivation. In tribes in which totemistic beliefs are strong, age classes and functional associations seem to predominate, while in tribes with an emphasis on agrarian pursuits, the institutions of the so-called youth dormitories and club houses prevails.

Such age grades are well developed among the North-American tribes. Nearly all Siouan tribes (Omaha, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, Gros-Ventre) and the Arapaho (West Algonquians) have such age grades. The Arapaho, for instance, have eight age classes. Each class has its special insignia, special regular ceremonies and initiation into its lower grades. The purpose of these age classes is the performance of special duties according to age. In the higher grades religious and magic rites are performed for the welfare of the tribe. Age classes are also found among the Galla and Masai of East Africa, in East Brazil, in ancient Europe (in Sweden until 1890), in ancient Japan and in Africa (South Nigeria). In India (Oraon) age classes are combined with the youth dormitory system.

In totemistic hunting cultures the male members of the tribe are usually divided into the following age grades: children (before initiation); warriors and hunters (after initiation); married men and elders. The initiation is the turning point in a boy's life. Before initiation he belongs to the women; as far as the clan or tribe is concerned he does not exist. But after initiation he is a full-fledged member of the clan or tribe; he associates with his mates in a club house. Only after marriage does he leave the club house and start a family. As an elder he takes part in the administration of the clan or tribe.

The initiation usually has a rich ritual, the climax of which is often circumcision. Circumcision is found in Central and South Africa, in East Africa (among the Kikuyu for boys and girls), in Central Australia (incision), in Indonesia, Indo-China (among the Moi, for instance), in the Philippines, Polynesia, Brazil (especially on the upper Amazonas and Orinocco), in Central America and in northern North America.

The initiation is commonly performed when the boy reaches maturity. The candidates for the initiation are compared or identified with the strong and youthful morning sun. They have to undergo tests of manliness in which they are beaten or tortured. The initiation ceremonies are often accompanied by fertility rites, in which blood must be spilled or drunk, and sometimes sexual debauchery is practised.

The initiated are subdivided into recruits, experienced and veterans. Another division is that of the engaged, married and elders. Each class and grade has usually its specific customs, dress, ornaments and occupation.

The social activities of the age groups often impair and restrict the social importance of the sib and clan organization.

In North America we find among the hunting and warfaring Red Indians various functional associations. Thus the Kiowa had an elaborate military association, consisting of six orders, each having its own dances, songs, insignia and duties. The Crow of Montana have tobacco societies with special religious functions, and military societies with peculiar military tasks. They had, however, no age grades. The Ojibwa had the Midewiwin Society which performed a ritual to insure the welfare of its members after death. Admission into the society was secured through payment of a fee. The Teton Sioux had a Strong Heart Society which played a part in the initiatory ceremonies of the Sun dance. The Hidatsa of North Dacota had a Black Mouth Society which exercised police functions. The Assiniboin of Canada had an organization of men aged between 25 and 45 years. They served as soldiers and policemen (especially during the tribal hunts) and were entrusted with the execution of the decisions of the tribal council.

2. *Youth Dormitories*

In communities of greater stability and pronounced agrarian character we find so-called youth dormitories. They are often connected with club houses for men. These youth dormitories are the place where the bachelors of the village meet and sleep. As a rule, married members of the community and elderly widowers are not welcome, but some tribes may allow the married adults and widowers to frequent the dormitories. Obviously they are closely connected with age classes. These youth dormitories are often places for sexual intercourse—or places where it is forbidden and where consequently men stay when they may not cohabit with their wives. Often they are also the meeting places for the warriors.

Such youth dormitories are found throughout Indo-China (Moi), Indonesia, Mikronesia, in ancient China, in Japan (with masked processions), in ancient Europe (Sparta), in East Africa (among the cattle-breeding Masai), and in tropical South America. In India youth dormitories are found in Assam among the Konyak Naga, Tangsa, Memi and Abor; these four tribes have separate dormitories for boys and girls. Among the Abor the boys' dormitory is also the council hall. Youth dormitories are also found among the Ao Naga (*arihu*) and Angami Naga (*kichuki*).

Youth dormitories are further found in north-eastern Central India among the Munda, Ho and Birhor (*gitiora*), the Oraon (*dhumkuria*), Gond (*gotul*) and Bhuiya (*dhangarbassa*); and in South India among the Mutduvan, Mannam, Paliyan and Kanikar. In western India traces of such a youth dormitory system are found among the Warli.

The origin of this social institution is usually ascribed to the desire to prevent incest, to prevent children from watching their parents in sexual intercourse, and to give parents privacy for the sexual act. Another purpose of the youth dormitory is to serve as a residence for the guardians of the village against wild animals and hostile raiders. To keep them awake throughout the night some kind of entertainment is provided. A further purpose is to enable men to keep celibate in times of sexual taboo, in certain agricultural seasons, during the menstrual period of their wives, after the birth of a child, before hunting and before certain feasts and sacrifices.

But one reason may also be that the young people like to be among themselves and to form a club for entertainment.

The functions of the youth dormitories are various. The main function certainly is the participation in joint economic pursuits like hunting, agricultural work and warfare as well. For head-hunting and raiding are popular pastimes for some of these tribes. It is claimed that the youth dormitory also provides training in social and sexual behaviour. If that is so the youth dormitory is singularly ineffective in such training, for the divorce rate is unusually high in tribes with such a social institution. The dormitory house also provides accommodation for guests and is a centre for recreation. It is usually also the centre for the performance of magico-religious ceremonies to ensure success in hunting and to augment the procreative powers of the young men in the village.

Attendance in the youth dormitory is obligatory on reaching the right age, or after passing some *rites de passage*. In some tribes the young people have their own leaders and officials who see that discipline is kept, the functions of the dormitory properly fulfilled and all rules and regulations faithfully carried out.

3. *Club Houses*

Similar to the youth dormitory system is that of the club house which is found among the lower cultivators of Indo-China, Indonesia, New Guinea (Marind-anim, Monumbo, Kai, Tani, Kiwai and others), partly in Melanesia and sporadically in Polynesia. This institution is absent in Africa and India, in spite of favourable conditions for such club houses in both these continents. It is, however, found sporadically in the tropical regions of South America, especially in the Chako region. Traces of this institution are found in ancient China; it is believed that the ancestor halls of the Chinese are such relics (Quistrop). It was also in vogue in ancient Greece (Sparta). It is again found in the hunting cultures of California and among the Alaskan Eskimos; both groups use it as a sweat house. The hunting tribes of eastern Brazil have also such club houses. In Australia we find a meeting place, but without a building.

The club house is intended primarily as a meeting place for men. It is not always a house; often it is just a plot of land, a meeting place without a roof. In the Chako region of South

America, it is a round place in the village, protected either by a roof or by a tree. But it is always a permanent institution.

The purpose of these meetings is manifold; it may be an economical one (working room); it may have a political purpose, intended for council meetings; it may also have a social purpose and be used as a dormitory, or for guests, dances and feasts. Religious ceremonies are also frequently performed in it. The Chakopo Indians, for instance, use it as a working room and for the accommodation of guests. In eastern Bolivia too the club house is used by the men of the village and also by guests. In South Brazil it is intended for work, for sleeping and for the discussion of tribal affairs. Among the Bororo it is used as a cult house and for sexual purposes. Also the initiation of boys and the funeral rites are performed in the club house. On the Solomon Islands it is a work house and a social centre, where also council meetings are held.

Sometimes further uses are found for the club house; it may be turned into a sacred place which occasionally houses the ancestor spirits as on the Solomon Islands and in New Guinea; and it may be used as a store room for masks and heads. Some tribes regard it as a megalithic meeting place where the ancestors are represented by huge stone slabs and are supposed to take part in the meetings.

As a rule, women are excluded from these club houses, though some tribes allow them occasionally to enter them to clean them, on feast days or for sexual intercourse. On the Solomon Islands the old women are permitted to frequent the club house of the men.

A speciality of some club houses is their partition into two antagonistic camps (due to dualistic marriage groups or sportive contests).

Admission into the club house is gained by certain initiatory rites which are performed when the boys reach puberty. The initiation is often combined with veritable mystery plays in which the boys are supposed to be swallowed by a demon, and then ejected by him. Or they are supposed to die during the ceremonies and to be reborn. These rites are often occasions for cannibalism, sexual debauchery and masked dances. Tests of manliness are demanded from the candidates.

A club house includes, as a rule, all men of a settlement; while it disturbs family life, it strengthens the solidarity of the village community and leads to greater social integration. The institution of the club house stimulates cultural progress, but on the other hand it may also be the core and centre of conservatism.

Club houses could only exist in tribes with a certain standard of material culture (agriculture) and some degree of stability. They are practically non-existent among lower hunters, but, on the other hand, also rare among higher cultivators. They are a rarity among pastoralists. Most probably they are the product of a mixture between primitive cultivators with advanced hunting tribes.

4. *Secret Societies*

Among the higher cultivators the club house institution could never gain ground because in these cultures another institution flourishes which has assumed great importance and exercised a strong influence. It is the institution of secret societies.

A secret society is a voluntary association whose members, by virtue of their membership, possess knowledge which is withheld from others. In general, the society bears a distinct name or title and possesses a ritual by which the members are distinguished from the rest of the social group to which they belong.

Such secret unions generally aspire to a double purpose, an ostensible and obvious one, and a secret purpose. The ostensible purpose may form a necessary and integral unit in the structure of the community (for instance, the cult of the ancestors or spiritual help for the souls of the deceased members of the society); it may also be a revolutionary and progressive purpose approved by the whole tribe, aiming, for instance, at political independence (so the Mau Mau society of the Kikuyu in East Africa), or at the promotion of economic welfare. These aims they intend to attain by means and methods which they keep secret from the non-members. But all secret societies have a hidden purpose the nature of which may vary: foremost in the mind of the members is the desire to attain a special status in the community and certain social and economic privileges; less explicit is usually the wish to counteract the fixed and rigid laws and rules of the natural societies, as the family, the clan and the tribe, and to form larger units which may reach even beyond the tribal community; other aims are to relieve the monotony and routine of everyday life by feasts with dances and masquerades, etc.

The origin of secret societies in primitive cultures has been explained by various theories; this is a sure indication that no single explanation is quite satisfactory. H. Schurtz, for instance, thinks that the secret society is a club where a man can find social diversion outside his family; a response to the urge for associating with his own kind. But this does not explain the element of secrecy in these societies. W.R.R. Rivers holds that at least in Melanesia the secret societies are survivals of the religious cults of the later immigrants who want to exclude the earlier indigenous population from these cults. H. Webster claims that totemism led to the formation of secret societies, while J. Bachofen, J. Lippert, R. Briffault and W. Schmidt maintain that secret society is the male reaction to social dominance by women in matriarchal societies. E.M. Loeb, however, asserts that the institution of secret societies does not depend on any specific social organization. E. Schlesier traces the Melanesian secret societies back to original clan clubs.

Such secret societies are found in Melanesia and Polynesia, in New Britain (Dukduk and Ingiet societies), on the Banks Islands and New Hebrides (Suque), in New Guinea (Kani), on Ceram in Indonesia (Wapulane), in Ceylon and South India (devil dancers, cult of Shakti), among the Lamas of Tibet (masked dancers), and in South Arabia (among the Himyaritic tribes). Secret societies are particularly widespread in West Africa: in Sierra Leone, where we have the Poro or Purrah for men and the Bundu for women. The Poro is a warlike and political society, which often interferes in tribal wars and intertribal quarrels. It is supposed to uphold law and mete out justice. The candidates for this society have to undergo severe tests. Other societies are found among the Mandingo (Mama-Dhiombo), Yoruba (Eyungun and Ogboni), in the Cameroons (Meli), in Calabar (Egbo and Mungi), on the river Ozowe and in Loango (Juju and Belli), on the Gold-Coast (Jehve), on the river Nunez (Simo), in the Congo (Ndembo), on the Ituri (Babali), in Nigeria (Juju), and in the Sudan (Aniota in the Aruwimi area, Semale of the Bandu, Nebeli of the Mangbetu, etc.). In Africa and New Guinea these secret socities are usually addicted to cannibalism.

A peculiar form of secret societies is found on the North-West coast of North America, among the Iroquois, the Red Indians of the Pueblo area and of California. It may be called a shamanistic secret society which unites men who are shamans or who have the same guardian spirit. Women are not excluded from these societies. Their aim is to achieve the cure of the sick. The members of these societies get frequently possessed by their spirits. Some of them use masks, others don't.

Admission into a secret society is gained only after a period of probation and the passing of severe tests. Sometimes the killing of a near relative is demanded, as in some West African societies and among the now extinct Thugs of India. The ceremonies of admission often enact the belief that the initiands are swallowed by a demon and again ejected, thus among the Mandingo tribe in West Sudan, among the Gersse and Kirsse (with circumcision); or they are supposed to die and to be revived, as among the Susu on River Nunez (between Senegambia and Liberia in Liberia), and on the Congo.

The ritual and the activities of the secret societies are jealously guarded from women and non-members; any member who reveals the secrets of the society or any outsider who stumbles by accident into a secret meeting is murdered.

A member passes from one grade to another higher one, generally by payment of a high fee in money or in kind (pigs).

It is not all childish play and hocus-pocus in these secret gatherings. They aim at economic advantages for their members; in the South Sea societies magic rites are performed to increase fertility. Others are stout defenders of the old tribal traditions against foreign influence, and still others teach their members how to propitiate the spirits and ancestors. The cult of the spirits is often a special feature of the meetings, and the participants wear masks representing the ancestors of certain spirits in animal form. Sometimes these masked dances are performed in the presence of the non-initiated in order to create fear and awe before the weird ghosts which the dancers embody. It appears that especially women and children firmly believe in the visible reality of these ghosts and spirits. They are ignorant of the fact that they are represented by men of their own community.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM

(*a*) *Origin of Caste.* Many theories have been thought out to explain the origin of the Indian caste system. But the very diversity of these explanations reveals the complexity of this institution.

It is generally maintained that the Indian caste system is unique and not found anywhere else in the same formation. Unique it certainly is in its full complexity though some, if not all, diverse elements of the Indian caste system are found sporadically all over the world; but only in India these elements are united to form a system. Thus in Polynesia we find very similar touch and food taboos as in India, and similar priestly and royal castes. In Ruanda-Urundi (East-Africa) we distinguish three castes: the pastoral Tussi, the agricultural Hutu and the hunting Twa. Their class distinctions are based on food taboos, occupational prejudices and endogamy. Even outcastes are found in many primitive and modern societies: notably the blacksmiths among the Masai (East Africa) and some Arab tribes, the Hinin and Eta in Japan.

Diverse factors, no doubt, have contributed to the growth of the caste system as it is now found in India. But the roots of it can be traced back to the social organization of the various Indian races before their immigration into the Indian peninsula.

The Aryan element in the Indian population is certainly very conspicuously responsible for the development of the caste system. When the Aryans reached India they were already a mixed race with a hybrid culture. Originally belonging to an animal breeding race, they had later adopted agriculture. In the animal breeding societies now we find a hierarchical gradation of society quite common. Advanced pastoralists, as the Aryans were, have commonly a social order graded into nobles, commoners and slaves; additional grades are the priestly class (shamans) and certain artisan classes, as the smiths, who in spite of their usefulness are often much despised and treated as outcastes. The pastoralists have generally a strong contempt for manual work and for all who perform it as an occupation. This would explain the low social status of the artisan castes in India.

In Iran where the Aryans lived previous to their invasion of India society was divided into three classes—Atharvan, Hateshtar, and Vastriya, i.e. priests, warriors and cultivators. Later, a fourth order, that of the Huiti or artisans, was introduced. Only the sons of priests could become priests. This conforms quite to the four-*varna* system of the Vedic Indians.

Another factor which may have contributed to the evolution of the caste system and which the Aryans brought along as an old heritage from their animal-breeding past was their anxiety for retaining the purity of their blood. The Aryans came to India as conquerors. They regarded the indigenous population as inferior. The Vedas revile them as *nishadas* ("noseless"), as "speechless," "godless" and "black-skinned." True to their ancient traditions, the Aryans only married women of their own race, though they kept women of the conquered races as concubines. The offspring of these were not recognized as equal in status.

This race consciousness of the Vedic Aryans was kept alive by the ancient custom of exclusive family worship, the head of the family being the officiating priest and performing the sacrifice to the ancestors for the family. The sacrificial meal which followed, united only the members of the family; outsiders were strictly excluded.

All these factors together contributed towards a hierarchical gradation of Aryan society, with marriage and food taboos, and a religious sanction for all this. Still, if it were based solely on factors introduced by the Aryan immigrants, the caste system would not have been so rigidly enforced in South India also where the Aryan infiltration had not been so strong. But the evolution of the caste system was obviously also favoured by the social conceptions of the pre-Aryan population in India, especially in the Indus Valley where a high civilization had sprung up before 2000 B.C. We know almost nothing of the social organization of this Indus Valley population. But without doubt, it must have resembled that of the Middle East civilizations with which this culture of India had many other traits in common. Sumeria, Babylonia and Assyria now had a strictly hierarchical structure of society.

In the Middle East city communities the first class of society was formed by the king and the priests. The city state was an absolute theocracy, and the king was regarded as the god incorporating him or as god's substitute. The other priests were his assistants and intimates. The second class was formed by the numerous state officials and warriors. The third class consisted of much respected merchants who disposed of the offerings made to the temple and the king, and entertained a vigorous trade even with distant countries, and, as in Ur, managed cloth-factories, breweries, bakeries, smithies, etc. A fourth class was formed by the artisans who were working for and around the temple. They were organized in guilds, admission to which was not easily obtained by outsiders. The various occupations and trades were considered as divinely instituted. The guilds had probably their trade and craft secrets which they only divulged to members. The acceptance and training of apprentices was strictly regulated by law and convention; trades and crafts were mostly inherited. A fifth class was formed by the numerous slaves. The slave class was constantly refilled by prisoners of war, debtors who could not pay their debts, and by criminals sold into slavery, and by the descendants of these. But slaves were not outcastes; they belonged to the family. They could marry and have a family; they could not be killed; and they could be released from slavery, even adopted into a family. Children of concubines or slave women remained slaves for life, but they could be adopted as legitimate children and thus released from slavery. On the other hand, a man could rent out his slaves for work, even pawn and sell them; he could sell his slave girls to a bridegroom or consecrate them to a temple.

It is probable that a part of this slave class, or other outcastes of society, constituted a class of untouchables. For untouchability is a feature of a city culture. In village communities we find no impure occupations. But city cultures, as the Indus Valley cities were, required such occupations: they had elaborate drainage and sanitation systems for which sweepers had to be employed. These were also needed for the removal of night-soil, of carcasses and corpses. Then there were occupations like tanning hides, etc. which for their bad smell were located outside the city. These unclean occupations may also have roused ideas of ritual pollution and the necessity of purification. Large baths have been found in all the cities of this civilization.

In later Vedic times a fusion took place between the indigenous population and the Aryan immigrants. This fusion was not only of a racial, but also of a cultural nature. An immediate and very striking instance of the fusion of these social conceptions is perhaps the fact that in post-Vedic times hegemony was transferred from the warriors to the priests. In early Vedic times the warriors considered themselves superior to the priests.

Numerous other factors also contributed to the development of the Indian caste system in its traditional form. One is the geographical isolation of the Indian peninsula as a whole and of regional areas in it. In former times India was not so thickly populated, nor was it possible and safe to travel much from one region to the other and to surmount the often formidable mountain, river and desert barriers, cutting some regions off from the rest of the country.

Another most effective contributing factor was the doctrine of *karma* coupled with the belief in transmigration of souls. It gave a religious sanction to the caste system and prevented effectively any attempt at an escape from the consequences of one's birth. Moreover, each class or caste had its own particular mores and rules of behaviour, taboos and prohibitions, often even dress, language and occupation to which every member of the caste became attached from earliest childhood and which he could not easily exchange for another set of mores.

Finally, the superior castes obtained in the course of time certain exclusive religious and social, even economic, privileges, which they had no intention of giving up or sharing with others. It was in their interest to make the caste system ever more rigid. Indian history has seen the day of mighty empires and powerful kings; but on the whole the smaller territorial population groups and polities could not be fully absorbed into larger administrative units. They retained to a large extent their economic, social and political independence. This also contributed to a free and practically unrestricted development of the Indian caste system.

(*b*) *Definition of Caste*. The term "caste" is derived from the Portuguese *casta*, meaning breed, race or kind. It was first applied to the Indian caste system by Garcia de Orta in 1563.

Various definitions of caste exist, but most of them are unsatisfactory. Caste is such a complicated and varified system that it is difficult to define it in a few words. Hutton defines caste as "an endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary; imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse; either following a common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin and generally regarded as forming a single homogeneous community." Lowie defines caste as "an hereditary endogamous class in a series of graded groups."

The Indian castes can be distinguished into two main groups: castes formed by common descent, and castes formed by common occupation. A caste formed by common descent is an aggregation of persons who are, or believe themselves to be, united by blood and descent, claiming a common ancestor. Subsidiary bonds of union in this type of caste are: common deities, common rites of worship, common taboos and rules of conduct, common economic pursuits and aspirations and common political interests. A caste formed by common occupation may consist of various ancestral groups with different traditions and heritage, but drawn together by the bond of a common occupation. This occupation is hereditary.

The traditional division of the Indian castes is into four *varnas* or colours; these four main groups are then sub-divided into innumerable smaller caste units. Highest in rank of the four *varnas* is the Brahmin (priest); next follows the Kshatriya (warrior), then the Vaishya (merchant and cultivator), while the Sudra (artisan) is lowest in rank. The first three *varnas* are sharply set off from the fourth; they constitute the "twice-born" castes. An initiation ceremony is performed for the youth of these three *varnas* who then experience a spiritual rebirth. Its outward sign is the sacred thread with which they are invested.

While it was possible in early Vedic times to change from one *varna* into another one, it is no more so in the present. Nowadays the four *varnas* constitute only the basis for the classification of the castes according to the order of their social rank. Each caste belongs to one of the four *varnas*. But even now this classification is not absolutely immutable. Not only are new castes formed through further segmentation; through migration, change of occupation, adoption or abandonment of certain social or religious customs, or through increased prosperity, castes are known to have risen from one *varna* into a higher one; the Kayasth of Bengal are such an instance.

(*c*) *Principles of Caste*. Caste is always inherited. One is born into one's caste and cannot change it. One must marry within one's own sub-section, for these sub-sections of the caste are endogamous. Each sub-section of a caste is again sub-divided into exogamous groups: intermarriage being permitted between persons having a common ancestor, six generations removed through the father and four generations through the mother (*sapinda* rule). Hypergamy often complicates the marriage rules further.

The exogamous group is made up of a number of joint families. The joint family is the basic unit of Hindu society, joint in food, worship and estate.

The caste imposes certain restrictions on its members; they are of seven types: commensal taboos (with whom to eat), cooking taboos (who is to cook), eating taboos (the proper ritual of meals), drinking taboos (from whom to take water), food taboos (what kinds of food to be eaten), smoking taboos (with whom and in whose company to smoke) and the vessels taboo (whose vessels to use for cooking, eating and drinking). Defilement by a non-observance of these rules follows automatically even though the breach of rules was unintentional.

Each caste has its authority which enforces the observance of the caste rules and punishes offenders. Among the twice-born castes it is no other authority than public opinion. But most castes have a ruling body called *panchayat* of the *biradari* (brotherhood). It consists of five members under a hereditary headman (*sarpanch*). It is a permanent committee, acting as judge, while the caste community acts as the jury.

The caste council enforces observance of all principles of right conduct, as laid down by custom. These are commensal rules, customary rites of religion, caste traditions and usages. It also imposes sanctions for a breach of the rules and punishes offenders with fines, feasts to the caste fellows or to Brahmins, pilgrimages, various forms of degradation, such as a course of begging, etc.; and ultimately and in extreme cases, excommunication, either temporary or permanent.

(*d*) *Effects of the Caste System.* The advantages of the caste system are considerable. In the course of Indian history the caste system has preserved unity in diversity and achieved a graded racial and cultural harmony in India.

The caste system has made Hindu India an organic whole in which all occupations work for the same end as different limbs of the same body. It gives every person and social group equilibrium in social and civic life and psychological security; it provides, in addition, a limited economic security and religious consolation.

These advantages are, however, balanced by serious disadvantages. The caste system leads to fatalism and impedes progress for the sake of stability. It restricts, for instance, change of occupation; thus the higher castes cannot follow a low, albeit lucrative occupation, nor can the lower castes follow a higher and more remunerative one. Agriculture is considered by all the most respectable of all occupations.

The commensal and food taboos often lead to economic wastefulness which India can really ill afford. Interdining is restricted; many kinds of valuable food cannot be eaten; some animals (monkeys, cattle, etc.) cannot be killed.

The law of caste endogamy and, particularly, of hypergamy leads often to a lack of suitable marriage partners and results in marriage abuses (like the excessive polygyny of the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal). Sanitation is often ignored.

The financial status of a family is ruined through expensive wedding, birth and funeral feasts, the joint family system, caste fines and caste contributions.

Worse are the social and political disadvantages: the caste system leads to contempt, exploitation and oppression of the inferiors, to group egotism and communal tensions. It fosters a spirit of exclusiveness, jealousy, greed and fear, which endanger political unity and harmony within the Indian nation.

Unbearable is the effect of caste on the untouchables: they are despised, shunned, unable to associate with the higher castes or to worship in their temples; they may not use their wells and are denied equal economic and educational facilities, etc. Conditions have improved in modern times, no doubt, but in the rural areas the ancient caste restrictions are still in force, though even there no more in their old rigidity.

(*e*) *Caste in Modern India.* At present many forces are working towards a gradual desintegration of caste. A marked relaxation of many caste restrictions on the individual's freedom of thought and action makes itself felt. Urban life, in particular, with its indiscriminate and overcrowded living quarters, eating in hotels and dining rooms, travel in railway, bus and tram, increased social intercourse, breaks down many caste barriers. Co-education and mixed clubs favour intercaste marriages. The large-scale increase of commerce and industrialized manufacture of goods have occasioned greater freedom in the choice of occupation; political awakening and the desire for strong national unity have also contributed to a gradual relaxation of caste rules, though the complete abolishment of caste is still at a distance.

Reform movements like the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission preach a casteless society. They exert considerable influence.

The restrictions on occupation are in modern times much relaxed.

Intercaste marriages are on the increase; expulsion from the caste in consequence of it is no more such a dreaded punishment as in old days.

The authority of the caste councils has declined markedly and increasingly; the government on the one hand is assuming many of the caste functions, while on the other hand the younger generation is getting more and more independent in outlook and behaviour.

However, some factors suggest that the caste system has only changed and not completely disintegrated. It has received a new lease of life through the establishment of social works on a caste basis, of cooperative housing schemes, banks, low-interest loans, employment bureaus, schools and hostels, hospitals, clubs, musical and dramatic societies.

Caste discrimination and untouchability have been abolished by the New Indian Code and made punishable; but the caste system as such has not been abolished.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

THE traditional theories about the origin of the state are that it came into existence either through mutual consent, was imposed by fear and force or arose through natural growth. In the following pages we shall see what anthropologists have to say about the origin of political institutions.

The inventor of the theory that the state owes its origin to a mutual contract of the people was Hubert Languet (1547). This theory was accepted by Althusius, Hugo Grotius and Baruch Spinoza. Thomas Hobbes (1642) was of the opinion that early man was wholly anti-social and in interminable conflict with his fellowmen. Later, however, men made a contract to end this state. J. Locke (1689) stated that early man was in a perfect state of liberty, but desirous of some civil power to protect his liberty. J.J. Rousseau proposed in his famous book *Contrat Social* that early man was utterly carefree and independent. But he made a contract to live with others in society and consequently lost his freedom by the artificial restraints imposed on him by social life and organization. Immanuel Kant followed Rousseau.

Others maintained that the state was a product of force and as such against nature. It was imposed on free and independent men by force, by the overpowering of one horde of men by others. Nic. Linguet (1767) was the first to teach that. Of the same opinion were J.G. Herder (1782) and especially L. Gumplowicz (1875), Fr. Ratzenhoffer and F. Oppenheimer (1926). However, their theories were not based on facts, but on preconceived speculations with a philosophical bias.

L.H. Morgan, on the other hand, held that the state was a natural human institution and believed that it was an outgrowth of the clan system. W. Schmidt and A. Knabenhaus shared his opinion, but they held that the state grew organically from the exogamous local group of the foodgatherers. It came into existence at an early period and was not introduced artificially either by force or by mutual consent. Like the family, it is a natural and fundamental human society, for it answers the fundamental human needs to gather into groups for protection and for the promotion of social welfare. In fact, the good of man in his temporal achievement is the primary and immediate object of government. It is only in civic life that man can attain the full stature of his material and spiritual development, promote his rightful ambitions and adequately protect his rights and his liberty against the encroachment of others, while at the same time satisfying his innate propensity for group life. As no civic life is possible without a directive force, authority and submission to authority are essential for the existence of civic life.

Following W. Schmidt, we distinguish four essential elements of the state: a given population or community, a defined territory in which they live, freedom from foreign control and a government directing all subjects to the common good.

1. *The State in the Foodgathering Stage of Culture*

(*a*) *A Given Population or Community*. If we assume that already the foodgatherers live in a state, they must fulfil the conditions just mentioned. And indeed, they do. The state of the foodgatherers has a given population; it is the local group. This is a cluster of individual families related by kinship. This local group owns the land on which it lives. It governs itself. It is exogamous, consequently it must entertain social relations with other groups for the purpose of marriage. The local group thus fulfils all conditions set to make it a political unit—a state.

The local group of the foodgatherers consists of a small number of individual families. Among the Yamana, for instance, ten to fifteen families form such a group, among the Congo Pygmies rarely more than six to twelve families, while the number of persons in the Andamanese local group is from twenty to fifty and in that of the South-East Australians from twenty to a hundred persons.

(*b*) *A Defined Territory*. The local group is invariably the owner of a well defined territory on which it lives, hunts and collects vegetable food. The boundaries of the area claimed as property by each group are known and respected also by the neighbouring groups. They usually follow rivers, valleys, hill ridges, trees, rocks, or other natural markings. Only in exceptional cases do the foodgatherers require artificial landmarks. The territory of a local group cannot be sold, divided, or given away. Such a territory, owned by the Andamanese local group, covers about sixteen square miles, while in the Australian desert the area owned by a local group may be much larger.

(*c*) *Freedom from Foreign Control.* The violation of its territory is punished by the local group with the death of the trespasser. An exception is made only for messengers and pre-announced traders. Among the now extinct Tasmanians, a violation of the boundary was a cause for war. It is well known with what fierceness the Andamanese repel unwanted intruders. The Yamana of Tierra del Fuego also defend their territory against outsiders. The Australian foodgatherers as well as the African Pygmies go to war to punish trespassers. But if, due to an increase of population, the territory of a local group becomes too small to support its members, the whole or a part of the area owned by a smaller group may be taken over either by force or by negotiation. But such cases are only reported from Australia.

Except in the case of murder or abduction of women, the local group of the foodgatherers resorts to war only when such violations of their territory occur. They believe that the territory occupied by them has been assigned to them by the Supreme Being, or by their ancestor or a culture hero. No one else has a right to take it from them. Primitive war, however, is not conducted till it results in the extermination of one local group. Often the issue is settled by negotiation after the first encounter in which just a few of the combatants are wounded or killed. Sometimes the dispute is settled by a duel. Contrary to the traditional theories, the foodgatherers are peace-loving; there is no war of all against all. Thus the Andamanese are generally peaceful; war ceases after one or two engagements. It is their women who make peace. The Semang of Malaya and the Philippine Negritos never wage war, nor the Ituri and Gabun Pygmies, except against foreign intruders. The Pygmoid Vedda and the South-East Australians have occasional fights and more often duels. In North America wars among the foodgatherers were more frequent in the past.

(*d*) *Its Own Government.* The administration of a local group is organized on democratic lines. It is essentially a rule of the elders. Rivers called it gerontocracy. In most cases of dispute the individual family or the kinsmen can restore the peace or punish the culprits without resort to the council of the elders. But in serious cases the heads of the individual families are summoned to a council. This council then represents the territory of the local group. Its decisions are confined to that particular local group. The matters to be discussed in such meetings are usually murders and other grave transgressions, and disputes of an economic nature. But the judicial and executive functions of such a council come rarely into play because the code of the tribe is observed with remarkable fidelity. The council of the elders has no right to change or modify the tribal law determined by ancient custom and tradition; it can only apply it to a particular case.

In tribes which have no higher organization than the local group the decision of the council of elders is final and no appeal to a higher authority is possible. Such tribes are the Caribou Eskimos, the Yamana, Vedda, Andamanese and Semang.

The council of the elders is in most foodgathering tribes headed by a chief. However, some foodgathering tribes do not have any chiefs; for instance, the Asiatic Negritos, the Kadar of South India, the Tierra del Fuegians (except the Yamana whose elders elect temporary chiefs for the initiation ceremonies), the Chukchee of Siberia, and others. Other tribes have chiefs, but their office is neither hereditary nor for life, as that of the Maidu and Yuki chiefs. In some tribes the chiefs hold their office for life, but it is not hereditary. The Kurnai and Kulin are such tribes. The latter grant to the heads of the family groups the right of voting for a new chief. Another system prevails among the Ituri Pygmies: there the oldest man of the local group is chief; on his death the next in seniority succeeds him. Only the Ainu have hereditary chiefs.

Among the foodgatherers no chief holds absolute authority and power. He is more a *primus inter pares*, the foremost of the elders. His authority rests chiefly on his personal, qualities: his age, outstanding skill in hunting and fighting, generosity, experience, friendliness and fairness, eloquence and the like. All these qualities make him more easily acceptable in his community as an arbiter and peace-maker; but without the cooperation of the elders the chief is powerless.

The chief presides over the meetings of the elders in his group and sees to it that their resolutions are carried out. He also orders the change of camp, as among the Congo Pygmies; he supervizes the distribution of the spoils, settles disputes and sanctions marriage arrangements. But usually he has no power to enforce obedience.

The members of a local group have various duties towards the aged, sick or helpless; towards children and widows. Food is set apart for them. The sick and disabled are carried on their tribal wanderings; if they have to be abandoned in the end, this is not done without leaving them a store of food. The local group also enjoins the sparing use of the products of nature. It watches further over the observance of other rules with regard to social behaviour. The youths are instructed in special initiation ceremonies.

One local group deals with other local groups of the tribe on a basis of social equality. There is no distinction of rank in most foodgathering societies; they recognize no nobility, nor do they know slavery. Social relations between the local groups are entertained through visits and gifts. Gift visits have a real social and economic value for the Andamanese, North Maidu and Wintu of North-Central California, the Coeur D'Alene of the Salish tribes, the Yamana and the Reindeer Eskimos. Gift visits are unknown among the Congo Pygmies who live in a kind of symbiosis with the neighbouring Negro tribes.

Citizenship in this primitive state is acquired by going through the initiation ceremonies or puberty rites where such are customary. Otherwise it is acquired on reaching the age of maturity.

We thus see that in the foodgathering stage of culture the state organization is at least *in nucleo* in existence. All the elements of a true state, though in rather rudimentary and elementary form, are present.

2. *The State among the Primitive Foodproducers*

The primitive foodproducers developed a much wider and richer conception of statecraft than the foodgatherers.

Already those tribes that have developed individual totemism are in a state of transition. The Montagnais of North America, for instance, have chiefs whose authority is accepted by all. Often they are the best hunters. Obedience is insisted upon, especially in the younger generation. The chiefs give order to strike camp. They decide in which direction to migrate, and where to settle again. In each family, the father enjoys the same undisputed authority.

(*a*) *Among the Advanced Hunters.* The tribes which engage mainly in hunting, while harvesting of wild fruits and agriculture are merely supplementary sources of livelihood for them, enlarged the basic political unit of the local group into a tribal unit with new and strong impulses for state-building activity and political machinery, but also with definite checks and safeguards against too authoritarian an aristocracy.

The rule of the local group is now replaced by the government of the tribe or clan. Each tribe consists of a number of clans whose members are united by the feeling of blood relationship. This feeling of belonging together is crystallized in a common name of the clan, the totem animal (plant, or inanimate object). The local groups of the foodgatherers are nameless. Such is the feeling of solidarity among the totemistic tribes that members of the same clan or totem feel united even over wide areas. Among certain Sioux tribes the different clans are assigned different political functions: one may police the village, another provide the herald, a third one be employed to make peace, etc.

Another unifying element is the similarity of conduct for all clan members. The foodgatherers are individualists. But the members of a totemistic clan have common rules of conduct, common restrictions and taboos. They feel a mystical attachment to their totem. The various totem clans often wear distinctive totem marks and badges (paint or tattoo on the body), on houses, canoes, weapons and utensils.

This is the custom of all totemistic tribes from the Torres Straits of Australia to Africa, and again on the West coast of North America. An exception are the totemistic Central Australians; but their totemism may have degenerated.

A regularly recurring feature are magic dances, representing the totem animal or effecting its increase. They are led by the chief. This clan ceremonialism is another highly integrating principle.

Outsiders, individuals as well as whole groups, are freely adopted into a clan. The fiction of blood relationship is created by the performance of a blood covenant.

The conviction of communal responsibility is so intense that the clan will avenge as a group any harm done to a sib mate. It need not be that the offender is punished in person, but one of his sib mates must: a sib mate for a sib mate.

Each clan has its chief, or at least a council of elders one of whom acts as its head. The authority of the council of elders and especially that of the chief rests on the conviction that they possess a greater share of the totem's magic power. Often the chief is also the magician.

But even though chieftainship may be hereditary, its power is still restricted. The elders retain much authority and the chief must take account of them.

Among the chiefs of the totem clans, the one possessing outstanding personal qualities or ruling the most numerous and powerful clan will be the tribal chief. Among the Algonquian and the Salish tribes of North America this office is divided between two persons, one acting in peace-time, the other during a war.

Also the tribal chief has no absolute power, but must consult the council of the elders. With them he discusses and decides affairs which concern the tribe as a whole and transacts any business with outside tribes.

While the institution of the tribal council and the tribal chieftainship is for the tribe a great integrating force, other factors also are active for greater tribal solidarity. One is clan exogamy. No clan member may marry within his clan. Men of one clan must choose their wives from other clans; thus the tribe is more united through ties of affinity.

Then we have in many of the totemistic tribes the institution of the age classes and that of the youth dormitories. The younger male generation, and in some tribes also the young girls, are emancipated from their home and family and join associations which cut across the clans. The different age classes and youth dormitories (male and female) have their own leaders, but ultimately they are governed by the tribal council and the chief, because these belong to the highest classes.

The activities of the youth dormitories and of the various age classes have an important part in political life and make all the members of these institutions conscious of their tribal unity. On the other hand, the clan idea keeps the impulse to autocracy within certain limits.

The territory of a tribe is generally well defined and foreign intruders are fiercely repelled. But the boundaries of the areas owned by the individual clans and kinship groups are often much less defined. At times two such groups may share a common hunting and harvesting ground. By mutual agreement several tribes may even create a so-called "neutral territory" where they can meet for the purpose of trade, for social entertainment and cultural exchange.

(*b*) *In Agrarian Cultures*. The basic political unit in agrarian cultures is commonly the village community. In tribes which have advanced to primitive agriculture immediately from the foodgathering stage of culture, the village community is usually headed by a council of elders without a chief, or with a chief whose authority is purely nominal.

Such village communities are found, for instance, in Central India and New Guinea, but also on the Nicobar Islands. Among the Kar Nicobarese the headman of the village is a *primus inter pares*. He can command no strict obedience nor enforce the law. He works mainly through persuasion. The village is ruled by a council of elders, who are men of experience, age and wealth; they deliberate with the chief.

Among the Gahuka-Gama of the Central Asaro Valley in New Guinea, on the other hand, each tribe comprises a number of named patrilineal clans. These clans are in fact mere local groups, in the sense, that most of the male members of a particular clan live in the same locality. Clan fellows believe that they have a common origin, though they cannot name their common ancestor. All members of a local group are of equal rank; they have no chief. Here again we find that the final arbiters of clan and tribe are the old men, individuals who have earned themselves "a name," either through prowess in warfare, or by eloquence in public gatherings, by intelligence, affability, a sense of justice, or balance of mind. The same system prevails among the Kiwai Papuans.

In agrarian communities which formerly belonged to a totemistic hunting culture, the village community is generally formed by one or several totemistic clans with a hierarchically organized social system, a headman, enjoying considerable authority, a council of elders, and the rest of the people. Originally the village community consisted of families whose heads belonged to the same clan. Solidarity in such a group may be so strong that the individual families belonging to such a social group live in communal long-houses under a common roof like the Kelabit on Borneo, and the Muron and Iroquois in North America.

The head of the village community is usually the head of the leading clan in the village. In communities with matrilineal organization this may be a matron, but more often her brother acts as her deputy. The headman of the village is advised and supported by the council of elders. Among the matriarchal Iroquois of North America this council consisted of women. They administered the clan (village) property and distributed the field crops after the harvest among the individual families. The women also took charge of the prisoners that the men made. In other matriarchal tribes the council is manned by men, but the women have a strong influence in it.

In more advanced agrarian tribes several such village communities may be headed by a tribal chief. But his power is generally only nominal and of representative value. The village communities are largely independent, in the administration of the property as well as in matters of social and political import. They have also judicial and executive powers.

In these communities the secret societies are of particular political importance. They represent a new element in a primitive food producing society. They cut across clan and village associations, extend over tribal boundaries, and often have their own language, customs and rites. They represent the chief competition to tribal chieftainship.

(*c*) *Among the Nomadic Pastoralists.* Among the tribes of Asia and Africa which specialize in pastoralism the patriarchal family is the basic political unit. The powerful patriarchal family controls and disposes of many matters which elsewhere are the affair of a larger and more complex body, of the state. Even blood vengeance is usually the task of the family.

The extended joint families remain practically independent; but many pastoralists form clans tracing descent to a common ancestor, as for instance, the Buriat. The Bedouins have sheiks as clan heads; so also have the Hamitic Somali in East Africa. The tribe of the African Galla, Nandi and Masai consists of families and clans. The whole tribe is divided into five sections (*gada*). The head of each *gada* rules in turn the whole tribe with self-appointed ministers for eight years.

The ancient Indo-Europeans, Israelites and Mongols had tribal sections of tens, hundreds and thousands.

The tasks of the tribal authority are first of all the settlement of the property claims. The tribes have large herds, while pastures and watering places are often scarce. They know also a seasonal migration from one pasture to another. Boundary marks on the land are absent. Thus there is plenty of provocation for land disputes, claims and transgressions; there are quarrels between neighbours, thefts, robberies and slayings. It is said of the cattle breeders of southern Sudan, to give an example, that fierce fights costing many lives break out regularly between them, usually because of trespassing by one tribe on another's grazing area. The tribal authority must also see to the protection of its subjects against aggression. A weak tribe usually seeks the protection of a rich and powerful one. Then there is the subjugation of sedentary tribes (cultivators, artisans, etc.). All questions arising from the dealings with the subjects must be settled by the tribal authority.

Each tribe has its chief, but in primitive pastoralism he has only personal authority. His office is not hereditary; he enjoys more authority in war than in peace. In the advanced stages of pastoralism, however, the chiefs whose office is hereditary rule despotically. Often they claim divine honours; a heritage, no doubt, of their former connection with the Middle East city states.

With regard to the vertical formation of animal breeding communities, primitive and advanced pastoralists have different customs. This may be indicative of the trend of social evolution in these communities. The primitive pastoralists have no ranks and classes; the Altai Turks, for instance, who belong to this part of animal breeders, have no nobility, and are without priestly and occupational classes.

But among the more advanced pastoralists we find a vertical division of the tribe into aristocrats, commoners and subjugated peoples, including slaves. The Buriat, of Central Asia, are an example for this. Aristocrats and commoners have the same ancestors; but the aristocrats claim to be the first-born descendants of the first-born son of the tribal ancestor, while the commoners are the junior descendants of the tribal ancestor. Apart from the tribal community, there exist two hereditary occupational classes—the shamans and the smiths.

A division into aristocrats, commoners and subjugated peoples was the rule also in East Africa and in the Congo. The rulers of the small kingdoms in this part of Africa belonged to the cattle-breeding upper class. He was generally treated like a god and surrounded by an elaborate ceremonial. Thus in Uganda various tribes were united under a king; each tribe has a special duty to perform for the ruler. The number of officials at the court was enormous. In Buganda the kingdom was divided into ten districts, but there were twelve chiefs. Ten of them governed the districts, two—the highest—stayed with the king. They met at irregular intervals at the king's pleasure. The king wielded more or less despotic power. Among the Shilluk the kingdom was divided into four major and two lesser provinces. The king received a share of all spoils in the hunt. He was killed when he fell seriously ill, for sickness could not be reconciled with his divine nature.

Thus the rudimentary forms of the political organization in the foodgathering stage of culture found an astonishingly varied and complex development already in the primitive stages of foodproducing culture. This suggests that man became early politically minded. Almost all basic political forms are in existence in primitive foodproducing society. Modern civilization did not invent many new forms, but only elaborated the rudimentary elements of political organization among the primitive communities.

CHAPTER XIV

LAW AND JUSTICE

THE social and political organization of a human group cannot be sustained unless it is supported by definite laws and rules which must be enforced with justice and firmness.

Law consists thus of a set of principles which permit the use of force to maintain the political and social organization within a definite territory. It differs from custom because in law an authority is charged, by either common approval or sanction, to take steps to deal with the breach of a norm.

Either in embryonic or fully developed form, law is found in all primitive societies. The primitives are not "lawless savages." There is no reign of lawless license at any stage of primitive society.

In many primitive societies the tradition is current that the Supreme Being, or the Maker of the world, the first ancestor or a culture hero, promulgated the tribal law. The question of altering this law, therefore, does not arise; the tribal council merely applies it to a particular case.

All the African Pygmies, the Samoyed of the North, the Ainu, the Algonquian tribes and the North-Central Californian foodgatherers, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and South-East Australia maintain that the Supreme Being is the author of the moral code. Moreover, he has ordered the performance of the initiation ceremonies in which these moral precepts of the tribe are taught to the younger generation. Such initiation ceremonies are held regularly by the Ituri Pygmies, the South-East Australians, the Algonquians and some Sioux tribes, the North-Central Californians and the Tierra del Fuegians, as also the Andamanese. During the initiation the boys and girls are instructed in the knowledge of God, in prayer and sacrifice. They are also taught to obey and respect their elders, to avoid unjustified homicide and injury to fellow men, to be honest and ready to help others, and to observe the sex mores prevalent in the tribe. They are taught not to commit adultery, fornication, unnatural vices and, at least in some tribes, they are enjoined to observe pre-nuptial chastity.

In the primitive food-producing cultures, on the other hand, it is generally no more the Supreme Being—now often an otiose deity—who is the author of the moral code, but a culture hero, or the tribal ancestor. This is so among most totemistic tribes as also in many agrarian cultures. Only the nomadic pastoralists of Asia and Africa hold that the High-god is the giver of the tribal law. This conviction is very strong among the Mongol tribes and it is also found among the Galla of southern Abyssinia; the Nuer of Sudan consider their High-god a jealous and all-righteous god who demands right conduct from his people.

Convinced that they received their moral law from a supernatural agency, the primitives do not usually claim the right to introduce new laws and to modify the existing ones. In fact, primitive society makes no conscious and deliberate attempt at promulgating any laws. The legal machinery for passing and enforcing such laws is lacking. The process by which customs and usages receive the status and sanction of law is slow and spontaneous. For the primitives are keen on preserving their freedom to the utmost. Only the fact that a particular custom or usage is in force from the hoary past and is an indispensable necessity for the order of tribal society can induce public opinion to impose enforcement and to punish offenders against it, and thus make it a law.

Evolutionists held that primitive society, steeped in the throes of unbridled lawlessness, violence and disorder, had need of only criminal law. This is not correct. Primitive man knows the essentials of the moral law. He has a definite conception of right and wrong. It is not merely an instinct for the "useful" (Hobhouse). The conceptions of what is "right" and "wrong" may differ in the various stages of culture, but all tribes have a sense of morality. Even in the most primitive societies inter-personal relations are governed by fixed status and well-defined custom; this applies also to property and inheritance rights. Thus primitives know a civil as well as a criminal law.

But of course, primitive law works differently from modern law. As the number of persons in a social group is small and they are generally related by blood, primitive law is largely conceived in terms of the kinship bond. It is not applied impersonally and automatically. On the whole, all political and social organization is conceived in terms of these personal bonds and enforced through an appeal to them.

Thus the foodgatherers, and usually also the tribes of a more advanced culture, hold the kinship group responsible for the actions of its individual members. If a member of the local group has failed in his conduct, the group conscience is pricked as though it were an organic whole. The kinship group bears the consequences of a wrong action perpetrated by an individual member. If a compensation must be paid or a restitution made, the kinsmen help out. But if such offences become frequent and a person becomes, as it were, a habitual law-breaker, his kinsmen may expel him from their community or even take his life. For he is a potential danger for the survival of the whole group. Even mere expulsion from the kinship or local group usually spells death for the culprit, for no mere foodgatherer can live by himself for long, the more so as he would not be accepted by any other group.

Justice is often administered through the kinship group. Where one man has been offered an offence or injury, the whole group smarts under the blow. Only among a few tribes, as for instance among the Andamanese, the South-East Australians and others, is justice left to the aggrieved party. A person who has been wronged shoots an arrow at his enemy or throws a burning faggot at him. The neighbours play their part by running away and hiding till the fight is over. Adulterers are beaten or wounded by spear thrusts or arrow shots, though rarely fatally.

Primitive law is more or less identical with ethical norms and public opinion. The ethical precepts and norms are handed on from generation to generation not only through initiation, but also by an informal and occasional education by the elder members of the group. But the observance of primitive law and custom is enforced most effectively by the pressure of public opinion. It not only prevents merely the breach of law; in cases when such offences occur, it enjoins also the punishment of the culprit. Public opinion is compelling in a social group in which the number of individual members is small. The offender usually feels the possible censure or ridicule of his social group so keenly that he willingly undergoes any punishment meted out to him and, not rarely, even commits suicide. In some tribes thieves, murderers and adulterers are forced by public opinion to commit suicide when their crime has been made public.

A further reason for the remarkably faithful observance of the tribal law is the feeling of interdependence and mutual obligation among the members of a social group. The primitives are generally well aware of the fact that the survival of the individual as well as of the whole social group depends on the strict observance of the tribal law.

An equally strong and compelling reason is the fear of supernatural vengeance for any breach of the moral code. For many foodgatherers believe that the Supreme Being, or the tribal ancestor, is not only the law-giver, but that he also watches over the observance of the law and punishes the law-breakers. Among many totemistic tribes this fear is particularly strong with regard to the totem taboo.

The conviction that the Supreme Being rewards a good action and punishes a bad one, is very common among the foodgatherers. Some declare that the reward for the good consists in a long life on earth, while the evil-doers die young. So say the Wiradyuri and Kulin of South-East Australia. The Semang, Andamanese and Ainu also believe that the Supreme Being punishes certain sins with death. Though some tribes, as the Semang and the Batwa of Ruanda, maintain that all sins must be atoned for in this world and that there is no distinction between the good and wicked in the other world, many other tribes hold that the souls are judged after death by the Supreme Being or his deputy and sent according to their merits to a place of happiness or to punishment. This is the conviction of the South Andamanese, the Tierra del Fuegians, the Wiradyuri and Yuin of South-East Australia, while the Kamilaroi of the same region believe that the wicked souls are simply annihilated. The Batwa of Ruanda and Urundi, the Kalinga Negritos and the Semang hold that the souls of bad people lead a shadow life, separated from the good, in or under the earth. The Ple-Temiar Semang believe that at the end of the world their Supreme Being will plunge those guilty of offences like murder, theft, and other sins, into a cauldron of boiling water. God shows his anger by sending torrential rains and storms.

The same conviction governs ethical life among the nomadic animal breeders of Asia and Africa. The Tibeto-Mongolians believe in a lord of the nether-world who judges the souls of the dead and sends them, according to their merits, either to one of the five heavens, to a place of temporary punishment or to one of the numerous hells. The Mongols have 16 or 18 of them, the Kalmuck eight large and four smaller hells. The souls are confined to punishment in hell for astronomically long periods. The Nuer of Sudan believe that God punishes deviation from right conduct by sickness, death or other misfortune if it is not speedily confessed and atoned for. Beyond a vague belief in a survival of the soul after death, they have no eschatology. The Fan of the Congo, on the other hand, hold that the souls of those guilty of transgression of the tribal law wander by night in the dark forest, chattering with cold and fear.

The totemistic hunting tribes, especially those of North America do not generally hold that the Supreme Being punishes evil-doers and rewards the virtuous. For them the fate of the soul in the other world depends more on the correct and frequent performance of certain magic rites. This is for instance the belief of the Nascapi Indians of Labrador (North America). They hold that the soul survives the body and is reborn after death. An immoral life in this world has no bad effects on the next life; however, the soul is good by nature and abhors lying. The soul substance can be increased by magic rites (singing, dancing, sweating, smoking, eating meat, especially bear's meat, and by meditation). Several Red Indian tribes of North America have special associations which perform a complex ritual to insure the welfare of their members after death. The Midewiwin Society of the Ojibwa is one of them. Admission to it is gained by payment of a fee. The totemistic tribes of Africa and South-East Asia commonly believe that the souls of the dead return to their totem spirit and can only be reborn if their bodies are kept intact with skin and bones; but their good or bad actions in this life have no effect on their fate in a future life.

The moral behaviour of the totemistic tribes, however, is much influenced by their fear of the totem spirit who punishes breaches of the taboo law with death, misfortune or sickness (especially skin diseases). Particularly abhorrent is for them the sin of incest.

For most agrarian tribes the connection between religion and ethical teaching is sundered as for the totemistic tribes. The Supreme Being is generally held to be of little importance; life after death in the nether-world is not influenced by the good or bad actions of this life, but by the funeral rites which the surviving relatives perform. In India, however, most primitive agrarian tribes believe that the souls of those who led a bad life have a difficult passage on their way to the nether-world. They are punished in a pond full of worms for some time, but after that all reach the abode of God, to be reborn after some time in a new-born child to their tribe and family.

Just as the totemistic tribes have their associations which in a special way take care of the welfare of their members after death, so many agrarian tribes have their secret societies to perform these last duties.

A strict observance of the tribal mores, which in primitive society is equivalent to a "good moral life," is enjoined not so much by religious motives, but by the fear of offending the gods and spirits. Any breach of tribal law is believed to lay man open to the influence of evil spirits always bent on harming human beings. But even otherwise benevolent gods may become revengeful if offended by a transgression of particular tribal laws. The only remedy is the speedy expiation of the sin and the propitiation of the slighted deity or spirit. Among the agrarian tribes of Central India as well as of Africa and elsewhere, many magicians and soothsayers are employed just for the purpose of discovering such sins and to indicate the deities that cause distress and the manner how they can be appeased. For, a breach of the tribal law by an individual may become a danger to the whole community. The Karen of Burma, for instance, believe that drought is caused by a secret sin. The Khasi of Assam attribute a bad harvest to the sin of incest. Tribes in West Africa hold that sexual intercourse before initiation took place causes failure of the harvest.

As a transgression of the tribal law may bring harm upon the whole community, primitive society considers itself well justified in punishing offenders. In the exercise of primitive justice the establishment of guilt is important. Guilt can be brought out in various ways, by a trial with witnesses and jury, by oath or by ordeal. In the foodgathering stage of culture the establishment of guilt is generally no serious problem, as every action of each member of the small local group is known to the others. Forms of trial, oath and ordeal are therefore weakly developed among foodgatherers. Thus the Andamanese have no oath or ordeal, nor any official trial of offenders. The Western Eskimos establish the guilt of a suspect through a boxing match in which the loser is considered the guilty party. The Australians fight duels for the same purpose. In Africa, and especially in Madagascar, the ordeal by poison was very common. The cultivating tribes of Central India have various devices to discover the guilt of suspect persons by ordeal. They force them to dip their hands into hot oil and then grip a red-hot iron; or they tie them hand and foot and throw them into a pond or river; if they float, they are guilty; if they drown, they are innocent and speedily taken out of the water.

Oaths are another common practice in the jurisprudence of these tribes. The strong conviction of the efficacy of such oaths makes their abuse very rare. A refusal of the suspect to take such an oath establishes his guilt. In Samoa, for instance, the chief may order all the suspects to pass in single file and to call upon themselves the curse of the village god if they are guilty.

In more advanced primitive societies trials with witnesses and a jury are an established form of primitive justice. Such trials with public hearings are common in Africa as well as in aboriginal India. Usually all male members of the community attend. A sense of justice and a knowledge of tribal law are thus acquired from youth. The headman of the community or the chief of the clan or tribe is the judge, while the elders and sometimes the whole assembly of males form the jury. In the formulation of his verdict the chief or headman cannot easily overrule the opinion of the jury. Guilt is established by witnesses and evidence, by oath, ordeal and, not rarely, even by torture.

Most primitive communities take the seriousness of the crime into account when they fix the amount of punishment. Among the foodgatherers there may sometimes be no fixed institution for the punishment of crimes. Justice is left to the aggrieved party, as among the Andamanese, or to the kinship group. Thus a relative may avenge the murder of a person, though he is not really obliged to do so. Generally any acts of violence are disapproved by public opinion and a homicide may have to absent himself from his own group till the excitement has subsided. This happens in all cases when no other punishment is possible.

In culturally more advanced communities punishment is meted out by the kinship group, the clan or tribal chiefs or the headmen of a village community. The various officials of certain age groups have often executive powers; so it is, for instance, among the Red Indians of North America. Among the animal breeding tribes it is the patriarch who is the judge, and often also the executor of his verdict.

Generally, the extent of punishment is not influenced by the question whether an action was deliberate or not; nor is provocation an excuse, the result of the action is important, not the intention or the motive.

The amount of punishment is graded according to the seriousness of the crime. Even in more advanced societies, a rough sense of justice often results in an attitude of ruthlessness and brutality. Punishment consists of various forms: the death penalty, mutilation, fines, and only rarely imprisonment. A common punishment is expulsion from the tribal society forever, or for a certain period of time. Compensation to the aggrieved party is another common form of punishment.

Among the Ibo of Nigeria, for instance, a thieving servant would have his hands put between two huge stones and crushed. A stranger caught in the act of thieving would be cut to pieces and eaten. A murderer was expected to hang himself to expiate his crime. Many primitive tribes punish those who allegedly indulge in black magic and witchcraft with death. Among many totemistic and pastoral tribes blood revenge is a sacred institution. If the actual perpetrator of the crime is not available for punishment, a member of his kinship group or clan, however innocent, may suffer for him. This blood revenge is carried out by kinsmen of the wronged party. Among the Bedouins and Afghan tribes blood revenge may thus be carried on between two families till the final extermination of one of them.

In these courts of justice not only cases of criminal law are judged and culprits sentenced, but also disputes of a civil nature, land claims, property and inheritance problems, debts, marriage arrangements and divorce, service contracts, and many other affairs of the community life are discussed and settled with an often brilliant display of oratory, mental acumen and a vast knowledge of tribal lore.

CHAPTER XV

PROPERTY CONCEPTS

One of the most important society-building factors is property. For this reason the property concepts of the primitives must be discussed here and their evolution sketched from the foodgathering stage of culture to the various stages of foodproducing culture.

The traditional theories about the origin of property concepts agree in one point, namely, that at the beginning of the human race property did not exist at all. So said, for instance, the Positivists (Comte, 1839). When social life developed, some individuals and groups excluded others from the use of certain goods; thus property concepts came into being. The Individualists also stated that at first there was no private property; it originated only in a later stage of progressive civilization. The Socialists too maintained that in the pure state of nature man possessed no private property. They considered private property as a deterioration or antithesis of the ideal state of nature. Marx took the proofs for his historical materialism from Morgan's book *Ancient Society*. F. Engels and A. Bebel did likewise. E. de Leveleye's work *Primitive Property* followed very much the same line. But later studies showed that the theory of primitive communism is correct only with regard to land.

We have now to consider under distinct headings the property concepts of the foodgatherers and those of the primitive foodproducers.

1. *Property Concepts of the Foodgatherers*

We shall first consider the forms of property concerned with immovable goods, i.e., the land, and objects connected with the land. In the primitive culture of the foodgathering peoples land is not cultivated, but is merely used as nature determines, for gathering fruits and herbs, for hunting and fishing. In this stage of economy, land is nowhere the exclusive property of individuals. The owner of the land is always a group of families that stand in close blood-relationship to one another. This large interrelated group may be called a loose joint family because it includes in the union of a man and a•woman also the families of their children and children's children. It differs from a joint family in the strict sense of the word because the married sons maintain, with their respective families, an independent household and are expected to give only a limited amount of economic assistance to their parents or parents-in-law. The primitive foodgatherers thus do not live in joint families in which the head of the family is the sole and absolute owner of all the property including that of his children and grandchildren. This latter system is prevalent among the nomadic cattle breeders of Asia and Africa.

It is the family group which holds a tract of land in joint possession. For this reason it may also be called a territorial or local group. Land is owned by such a group among the Chenchu, a nomadic tribe of hunters and foodgatherers in Andhra (India), among the Andamanese, and the Negritos of Luzon on the Philippines. Among the latter the area occupied by a family group rarely extends beyond a radius of 20 miles. The same applies to the Semang of Malaya of whom it is said that each Negrito group, though shifts of camp are frequent, has its own recognized beat or territory and does not, as a rule, move outside this. The North-American Cree, of Algonquian stock, live in small scattered groups, each group about 30 miles distant from the other. Though theoretically the territory belongs to the tribe in common, the individual groups keep within a certain area and rarely change their hunting grounds. Also among the Batwa Pygmies of the Congo the land is owned by the local family groups, while among the Bambuti Pygmies of the Ituri it is a larger group that represents itself as the joint owner of the land.

Only in rare cases, as among the North-East Algonquians, the Vedda and some South-East Australian tribes, is the land owned by individual families (in the strict sense of the word, i.e. consisting of husband and wife and their children only). This exception is probably due to the influence of superior agrarian cultures. Of the Algonquians it is said that the present ownership by individual families is a recent innovation, for in the past the land was owned by the tribe or family group, and not by individual families.

The ownership of land, vested in the loose joint family, is an imperfect one, in the sense that such property cannot be disposed of by anyone, neither by the family group as such, nor by a single family, least of all by a particular individual. Not even a chief possesses such power; as a matter of fact, many of these primitive tribes do not have real chiefs.

The idea of acquisition of landed property by purchase or conquest is at this stage of culture entirely absent and even inconceivable; only one single instance of such a kind is known, in the border region of northern New South Wales. All Pygmy tribes, the North-Central Californians, the Salish, and the various tribes of Tierra del Fuego consider the Creator himself as the true owner of the land. They believe that he has distributed the land among the different races, tribes and family groups for their sustenance.

In this stage of culture, land is not a well-defined plot on which a family lives and thrives, but a wide living and hunting ground within the limits of which the kindred groups of families move about in the search for food which nature provides. The land serves more as a basis for procuring a livelihood. From the spontaneous produce of the land the women collect fruits, vegetables, roots and tubers, while the men procure animal food by hunting and fishing. The sustenance of the family group and the security of existence are based on the inalienability of the land on which each family group lives. This ownership, however, is not maintained in an exclusive and selfish spirit; it is modified by the needs and requirements of outsiders. The owners permit any other family group to collect food and hunt on their land if for some reasons the other group is unable to live on the resources of their own land. It is understood that this permission is only granted for temporary use and that certain conditions must be fulfilled: the collected food must satisfy an immediate need and may not be stored for future use. Further, a certain portion of the yield must be handed over to the proprietors, or presents of corresponding value must be given. However, the tribes will only in cases of extreme necessity avail themselves of such a permission; they much prefer to hunt and collect their food in their own tract. On a journey a man may collect enough food for his immediate needs on any of the lands *en route*, but he is not allowed to carry any of the produce over the boundary.

The boundaries of the tracts of land owned by the local groups are always well defined though they are rarely marked by artificial signs or fences. Usually these boundaries follow natural landmarks, hill ridges, rivers, certain trees, rocks, etc. Only the Vedda of Ceylon, the Pomo and Maidu of California and the West Kulin of Australia have artificial signs to mark the boundaries of their land; but these tribes have to some extent been in contact with more advanced people of the neighbourhood.

Neighbours with adjoining land know the boundaries and observe them strictly. Trespassing on other territories is extremely rare and would be considered a serious offence. It might lead to fierce quarrels and even bloodshed. Of the Chenchu (Andhra) it is said that a man may only hunt in those lands to which he has a right. Even today the boundaries of hunting and collecting grounds belonging to the various settlements are nominally respected, but in the old times the least infringement of the boundaries gave rise to inter-village quarrels which sometimes led to bloodshed.

While in these foodgathering cultures land is vested in the local family groups, certain immovable goods, connected with land, are owned by individual families. For these tribes consider that labour expended on any product creates a right entitling the labourer to unrestricted ownership, though that same product as long as it lies fallow is the communal property of the whole group on whose land it flourishes. Thus these objects become property in the strict sense of the word, because they are inheritable and transferable. This ownership does not apply to the land itself, but to certain objects on or in the land. For instance, certain particularly valuable trees are owned by individuals. Thus the Andamanese claim the ownership of certain fruit trees, or of trees the wood of which they require for the building of canoes. The Semang of Malaya consider trees as individual property, the fruits of which are edible or from which they extract the poison for their darts.

Similar property concepts prevail among the Negritos of North Luzon, the Ituri Pygmies of the Congo, the North-Central Californians, the Algonquians, and the South-East Australians. Elsewhere certain plots of land are the exclusive property of families where valuable plants for food or medicine grow or in which useful material is found. Thus the Ituri Pygmies consider as their individual property the giant ant-heaps which they raid for their eggs, the nests of caterpillars and trees with beehives. The Ojibwa Indians individually own certain fields of wild paddy. Among the North-American Cree the hunter who first discovers a beaver lodge becomes by that very fact the owner thereof. He marks the lodge by planting a stick or post, and his mark is respected by everybody. The Worunjeri of South-East Australia have their individually owned quarries where they cut stones for their axe-heads. Elsewhere the nests of certain birds are individual property, or beehives, as among the Negritos of the Philippines, the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the Mountain Dama. The Inland Salish own individually the nests of eagles whose feathers they require for their arrows; the Kurnai of Australia own the nests of the black swan whose eggs they relish. The arctic tribes individually own natural fish-holes which by artificial improvement they have rendered more productive. The Katkari of Bombay State often build river weirs for fishing. These weirs are frequently a joint concern of a whole group, but each vault accommodating ten to twelve fish traps is the property of one Katkari householder.

Almost everywhere the individual ownership is acquired by the *jus primi occupantis*, i.e. by the person who first finds and uses the object in question for his own personal benefit. However, the object, though useful and valuable for the individual, must not be essential for the very existence of the whole group or the tribe: in such a case it could not be claimed as exclusive property by an individual. Thus the Chenchu who are more foodgatherers than hunters consider fruit-trees as such essential property of the whole group. Even the bananas which a Chenchu plants are the heritage of the whole community and the fruit is shared by all the members of the group.

Also, taking possession of an object must be marked by an artificial sign; among several tribes it is sufficient if the aquisition is expressed by word only, as among the Andamanese, else the acquired object is made recognizable as such by clearing the bush around it or by a heap of stones, the planting of a stick or post near the object, etc. Once an object is thus marked, its use by other members of the tribe or by outsiders would be considered as theft and severely punished.

The individualistic school of K. Bücher held that primitive man, just like the superior animals, hunted and collected food in solitude. The early Socialists, on the other hand, believed that at the dawn of mankind no human being could exist as an individual, nor even as an individual family, but lived, hunted and collected vegetable food in loose disorderly hordes.

Both assumptions appear to be incorrect; the most primitive peoples of the world, the foodgatherers, live in small family groups, not single or in disorderly hordes. Accordingly, also the food collected by them is not the exclusive property of the one who collects it, nor the collective property of the whole horde to which he is alleged to belong. Actually the vegetable food which a man or woman collects is transformed by labour from the communal to individual property. Similarly, animals killed in the chase become the property of the hunter through the effort he takes in tracking and killing them. In the latter case, however, there is usually a tacit understanding among men out hunting together that all spoils should be shared according to customary rules. In support of this general rule rather than in opposition to it, the author of a monograph on the Katkari, a nomadic tribe in the Bombay State (India), states that these Katkari prefer to hunt alone, because they do not want to have many sharers in the kill. If the animal is too big to be eaten by the family, the successful hunter sells a portion of the meat to the villagers.

When an individual has been successful in his search for food, he brings it home where it is prepared by a woman of the family for immediate consumption. At the meal all the members of the family—husband, wife and children—take part; in this they are conspicuously at variance with later superior cultures. The individual ownership of this food-produce is, consequently, of short duration; it lasts only until it is prepaed for consumption. Especially in the warm climates food is, due to lack of means for preservation, never kept in store very long. Individual ownership of natural products, therefore, has scarcely developed beyond its initial stage.

Still, there is no doubt about the definite concepts of ownership which the primitives maintain concerning natural products of the land. These are indisputably private property and the rights to them are defended, despite the fact that they are sometimes shared with outsiders. Theft of food from the caches, or of animals caught in traps, is punished by beatings and sometimes death. The Tierra del Fuegians punish a thief by destroying his whole property and breaking his canoe. The title on which such property is acquired rests undoubtedly on the labour and trouble which the individual spent in collecting this food. But since in the foodgathering stage of culture food is not really "produced," but only collected ready-made, the primitive is convinced that such food is lastly the absolute property of the Creator. For it is he who, according to the belief of most primitives, has created food and made it ready for consumption by man. This supreme property right of the Creator is acknowledged by a great number of tribes by the performance of the so-called primitial sacrifice. They honour him as the "Provider" of their food, as the "Lord and Master" of the creation, by offering him the first fruits of the forest and the best portion of the animals caught. The primitial offering is performed by most of the Pygmy tribes, the Bushmen, the arctic tribes, the Tierra del Fuegians, the Algonquians and the Salish, and in India by the Katkari, the Kadar and the Chenchu. Other tribes, as the North-Central Californians and South-East Autralians, perform solemn ceremonies in remembrance of the creation of the world.

While the Creator, so the primitives believe, has granted them the usufruct of the earth and its products, he has at the same time imposed upon them as a double responsibility, first, the sparing and careful use of his goods, and, secondly, the altruistic share of the same with indigent fellow men. These obligations, since times immemorial sacred traditions among these tribes, are impressed upon the younger generation in solemn rites of initiation.

Among many tribes it is the custom to render all possible assistance to such persons who through age, sickness or a great number of children are unable to maintain themselves. They also take good care that food is not wasted. If the Eskimos, for instance, make a kill on one of their journeys and are unable to carry along all the meat, they prepare a cache and deposit the meat at a safe place. Every traveller is permitted to take as much meat as he needs. There are many such caches in those regions. The Andamanese only store food for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment.

Such donations of foodstuff are not only made to people who are actually in need of food, but as an expression of affection and friendship also to others. M. Gusinde says of the Tierra del Fuegians that it is their highest ambition to be considered generous and selfless. A successful hunter distributes his booty among his relatives and neighbours; also friends and guests get a share. Rasmussen says of the Eskimos that they are extremely helpful and generous to a fault. Of the Chenchu it is reported that a lone hunter leaves his kill and fetches the other men of the settlement so that together they skin the animal and divide up the meat.

Wide-spread among these primitive tribes is the custom of a mutual offering of presents in the form of foodstuff to relatives and friends. Such donations are frequently on a very generous scale, and are returned when occasion offers itself. There are ample proofs of this generosity, often expressed in a most attractive and touching form, among the African and Asiatic Pygmies, the Vedda of Ceylon, the North-Central Californians, the Salish and the South-East Australians. One of the reasons prompting immediate division of foodstuff, especially of meat, is the impossibility of preserving it for any length of time.

But a more pressing motive is undoubtedly that the common consumption of the food is an occasion of great enjoyment and moreover much enhances the reputation of the successful hunter or clever collector. It is especially for these reasons that the exchange of presents is practised by the arctic tribes, who otherwise have no difficulty in storing ample meat supplies for the times of need and are not forced by a warm climate to get rid of surplus food.

Though the primitives firmly assert their rights in regard to natural products they feel bound by certain obligations imposed by the Supreme Being in a selfless and sparing use of these products. More assertive, however, are their claims in regard to objects which they really produce by the work of their hands, such as their habitation, clothing, ornaments, household utensils, tools and weapons. The value of these articles, as a means of protection or decoration, as tools or weapons, has been created by human exertion and skill. Consequently the producer of these objects feels himself their owner in a higher degree, and also has more liberty in their disposal. The rights of property are, therefore, more pronounced in the possession of such articles than in the use of foodstuff or landed property. Thus the hut which is usually erected by the woman and is the centre of her activity, is looked upon almost everywhere as her property in the strict sense of the word. Among the Ituri Pygmies a wife may even forbid her husband to enter the hut if he has not supplied the family with sufficient food. Her authority in this respect is even greater with regard to strangers. Of the Andamanese we hear that among them the rights of private property are so far recognized that no one would without permission appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a friend or neighbour.

Complete and absolute individual property concepts are consequently not at all absent in the most primitive stage of culture; they are, indeed, rather more definite and pronounced here than in later and superior cultures. Indiscriminately all individuals may own property, men as well as women, and even children, and these property rights are respected rigorously by all more strictly than in later stages of culture. If it is true that every acquisition of property is an increase of self-assertion and an invigoration of one's personality, we come to the obvious conclusion that the primitives are not at all devoid of personality and self-assertion.

In spite of the pronounced character of ownership concerning real products of man, the generous attitude of the primitives in giving away their property also extends to such articles. Among the Andamanese, for instance, almost every object in their possession continuously changes hands, and of the Yamana of Tierra del Fuego a keen observer says that apparently they manufacture and acquire such articles for the pleasure of giving them away. This generosity is particularly apparent on the occasion of visits. Whole families may go for a visit and stay for days or weeks with other families and even distant tribal groups. They bring with them many presents for their hosts, are themselves well entertained and generously treated, and return home loaded with presents. After some time the visits are returned and the former guests in turn entertain their hosts with, if possible, even greater display of generosity and affection. Such mutual visits are customary among the Andamanese, the Eskimos, the North Central Californians, the Salish, the Algonquians, the Tierra del Fuegians, and the African Bushmen. By such visits the small tribal groups, lost in the vast solitude of the lonely jungle or wilderness, and separated from other groups by great distances, escape the stagnation and dullness which such isolation breeds and gain new zest in life and a strong feeling of solidarity with their fellow tribesmen.

The exchange of gifts on such visits is not so much prompted by economic as by social motives. They are an expression of mutual esteem and affection. It must, however, be admitted that economic considerations are not wholly absent. This exchange of gifts has indeed sometimes developed into a veritable trading of gifts. This has prompted some to see in this usage the real origin of trade. But at this stage of primitive economy a proper and extensive trade is still unknown, for the simple reason that the tribal groups are largely self-supporting and are not much in need of articles which they cannot produce themselves. Further, the social relations generally do not extend over sufficiently distant parts of the country as to allow an exchange of a great variety of goods which could be produced in one but not in the other part of the tribal area. Consequently only where conditions were particularly favourable could such trade develop, as in North-Central California, in South-East Australia, and even there only in the neighbourhood and under the influence of superior cultures. The Andamanese still prefer to call their transactions of this type presents, but in the hope of receiving in return something for which they have expressed a wish, it being tacitly understood that no "present" would be accepted without an equivalent being rendered. Also of the North-American Cree are we told that such an exchange of presents is very common and takes the place of barter.

Where the foodgatherers are not prepared to part with their property, they often give it away on loan. No remuneration whatsoever is demanded by any primitive tribe for the loan of an article by which a real and pressing need is satisfied. Only the Bushmen make an exception from this rule, but they are no more a purely foodgathering tribe. If, however, a person borrows an article for personal use and benefit, or to acquire other property by its use, he is bound by custom to hand over to the owner about half of his gain.

Contrary to expectation, the notion of patents and copyrights is well developed in foodgathering cultures. Its prominence among these tribes reduces the assumption of a universal primitive communism to a manifest absurdity. Even in so humble an environment as that of the Andaman Islands, the rights of property of songs composed for the occasion of a tribal gathering are jealously guarded by the composers. No one but they are at liberty to sing them again. All rights are reserved. The Koryak of Siberia are inveterate believers in the efficacy of charms and incantations in all their vicissitudes of life. These incantations are the secret of elderly women who are paid by their clients for chanting them. The women may sell the right of reciting the incantations; after the sale they may not use them any more for their own purposes. The Algonquian-speaking Montagnais consider magic formulas, songs, dances and stories the exclusive property of those who invented them. They may not be used by any one else.

The problem of inheritance, perplexing and fraught with hostility in so many advanced cultures, is of no great importance among the foodgathering tribes. For in these cultures the amount of inheritable property is comparatively small. Landed property is not inheritable, except among the Vedda, nor generally is the dwelling hut of the family, which in any case is rather unstable and temporary. Negligible is also the amount of clothing and ornaments which a deceased member of the tribe could bequeath to his heirs. The amount of property is not only limited by their primitive requirements, but necessarily by the demands of high mobility and by inadequate transport facilities. But the most effective check on the development of a definite inheritance system is the strong fear of the dead so prevalent among these primitives. This fear prevents the surviving relatives from appropriating any articles that the deceased once possessed and used. They feel afraid of the jealousy of the deceased person's spirit, were they to benefit by his former belongings. Thus among many primitive tribes the entire property of a deceased member of the tribe is either destroyed or given away to strangers. Sometimes it is left with the corpse. This custom was formerly practised by the Algonquians, Arapaho, Plains Indians, and is still prevalent among the Eskimos, the North Central Californians, Shoshones of East California, the Tierra del Fuegians and the South-East Australians. The Tierra del Fuegians give a further reason why they do not keep the property of a deceased relative. They say that they dislike to be reminded of their loss. If the possessions of the deceased remained before their eyes, they would always remember him and feel sad. But wherever property left by a deceased is retained, it remains in the possession of his nearest kinsmen. The tribe as such has scarcely anywhere a claim on such bequeathed property. Of the Andamanese it is said that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance; more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a deceased person, as often as not they distribute them among such friends as may be in need of the articles in question. Among the Chenchu too no hard and fast rules of inheritance can be detected. They seem to depend on their sense of a fair deal effecting an equal distribution of property among all the children. The same is true of the Katkari and the Kadar.

All this shows that the institution of inheritance, and its very concept, has no strong roots in the economic and social life of the foodgatherers.

A comprehensive survey of all data and facts concerning the property forms of tribes and peoples in the foodgathering stage of economy leads to the conclusion that all essential forms of ownership are present at least in a nuclear form.

2. *The Property Concepts of the Foodproducers*

a) The Advanced Hunters. The property concepts of the advanced hunters and harvesters of wild crops are generally similar to those of the mere foodgatherers. But there is a noticeable tendency of larger sub-sections of a tribe joining, at least temporarily, for a communal hunt or for the harvest of a wild-growing crop. In tribes with clan totemism it is usually no more the local group that owns the land, but the clan. And even clans may, in a later development, come to share a common territory so that ultimately only the tribe as a whole is the owner of a well-defined area. Clans and family groups may only have a temporary control and usufruct of a certain area. Property of other immovable goods is acquired by individuals or individual families simply by taking possession of them when they are found unoccupied. Game hunted by Red Indians, however, was often pursued far beyond a group's hunting ground.

In clans in which clan solidarity is particularly well developed the common good is considered superior to the interests of the individual. Consequently individuals may not appropriate goods which are necessary for the whole community. Thus all food must be shared with those who cannot support themselves. This sharing is strictly regulated by custom and not left to the discretion of the individual, as in the foodgathering stage of culture.

With regard to movable goods, we find that, as advanced hunters lead a more sedentary life, they also own more goods and possess a greater variety of household articles, clothes, ornaments, weapons and tools. The greater perfection of these articles necessitates a specialization of crafts. The goods are naturally owned by those who manufacture them, or by their buyers or recipients. For such articles are still often given away to enhance social prestige, as a token of affection or in exchange for other goods. Often a person's belongings are buried with him when he dies.

In certain African tribes a form of communism exists; initiation candidates, for instance, may appropriate anything that strikes their fancy. But this is only a temporary suspension of the property rights. Women, on the other hand, cannot own any property in these cultures.

But women themselves may be considered as property for which a price must be paid in marriage. Or brides are exchanged. Women are often regarded as the property of their husbands to such an extent that adultery on their part is punished not so much for moral reasons, but for the infringements on their husbands' exclusive property rights.

Many intangible goods are considered individual property which is negotiable. Thus the Northern Plains Indians (America) commonly acquired songs and ceremonial privileges through visionary experience. The Blackfoot Indians were eager to buy, and to sell, their sacred bundles (collection of sacred objects, bringing luck and prosperity). Crow Indians sold revelations which qualified them to cure certain ailments. The Eskimos owned individually songs which they had composed, the Indians of North and South America (Bororo, for instance) had property rights for certain ceremonies, songs, emblems and dances on which no infringement was tolerated.

Inheritance is generally in the male line.

In this stage of culture we come, for the first time, across money as a means for trade. In totemistic Australia articles like red ochre, spears, shields, etc. are used as money. Such articles are thus withdrawn from the primary purpose for which they were manufactured and are used solely as a means of exchange and trade.

(*b*) *The Cultivators*. Among those primitive cultivating tribes, however, who developed straight out of the foodgathering stage of culture property concepts conform more closely to those of their former stage of culture than among the advanced hunters. Land is the property of the local group, of the village or clan community. (It is so, for instance, among the Hopi [Pueblo Indians]). But the plot under cultivation is temporarily owned by the individual family which tills it. In shifting cultivation land is frequently recovered from the forest and again left fallow. In some tribes the distribution of the fields is periodically done by the village community.

The ownership of movable goods is acquired by men and women through personal effort and exertion. Typical of these tribes is that women retain their property rights to some extent. Inheritance is either in the male or in the female line. The mutual exchange of goods and the sharing of goods is similar to that of the foodgathering stage of culture and controlled by tradition and custom. The marketing of surplus field products is often in the hands of women, especially where they do most of the agricultural work. Individual property rights are well developed.

Especially among the cultivating tribes who had previously been advanced hunters a peculiar social and economic predominance of women developed in certain communities, which is called mother-right. In such societies land is owned either communally or individually by the women. When the land is owned communally, either by the clan or the village community or a family group, the management is either in the hands of a group of women, or of the female head of the social group or of a male deputy. The field produce is often distributed after a harvest in common among the individual families of the clan (or village), or it is harvested by the individual cultivators.

Movable goods are at least nominally owned by the women of the family. Inheritance is in the female line, either the eldest or the youngest daughter getting the main share. Husbands are frequently excluded from having any property rights in the communities of their wives; on the other hand, they may have the right of management of their sisters' property. In some matriarchal communities they are permitted to acquire individual property by their own exertion; this is so among the Khasi (Assam) and the Moplah (Malabar) in India.

In many matrilineal societies the brother of the female head of a family or clan is the real manager of the property. Thus the male element reasserts its predominance in the matriarchal societies.

(*c*) *The Pastoralists*. Among the nomadic pastoralists, however, land is commonly in the possession of the extended joint family. Large areas of land are required for the grazing of the herds; thus land property is usually extensive. As individual joint families often possess separate summer and winter grazing camps and as the boundaries of these camps are not marked, disputes about land property are frequent. Thus the Kazakh of Inner Asia had often to fight for their winter grazing camps which were scarce. The Lapps of northern Europe also have to guard their grazing ground and allow trespassing only in cases of real necessity. In Africa, the land of the cattle breeders was usually owned by the kings or chiefs who allotted it to tenants. The Hottentot frequently claim property rights over the precious water holes in the desert; and newcomers into a region have to pay for the use of the water.

The herds, as well as their products, are owned by the joint family. But all the property is managed by the patriarch who has sole charge over it. So it is at least in Asia. In Africa, the kings and chiefs of the cattle breeding communities often usurped extensive rights over the movable property of their subjects.

In the advanced pastoral cultures, we often come across a primitive capitalism. The more heads of cattle a man possesses, the richer he is and the higher is his social prestige. The value of his cattle is here of no concern. Little interest is, therefore, taken in improving the stock. The "capital" (the word "capital" derives from "caput," i.e., head of cattle) is considered the more profitable the more prolific it is. This results in the tendency of accumulating vast herds. In Asia, for instance, herds of thousands of animals owned by one family are no rarity. In Kenya and Tanganyika 100,000 Masai graze approximately a million animals, seriously overpopulating existing grasslands. The same it true of the Kikuyu. One million Dinka of the Sudan own between themselves two million cattle, far too many for their limited grazing grounds. In India, the number of useless cattle is also exceedingly large.

The unequal increase of cattle wealth in these cultures resulted in a differentiation of wealth; thus two classes evolved: the rich and the poor. The powerful rich exploited the powerless poor who had to submit to this exploitation for subsistence and protection. Thus serfdom and even slavery developed early in these communities. Such differentiation in wealth could not develop in the mere foodgathering and hunting cultures, for wild game could not be privately owned or accumulated.

However, many animal breeding tribes increased their wealth also by trade and by robbery. Handicrafts developed only in connection with dairying, as the animal breeders treated manual work with contempt. Many tribes treat smiths whose work is so valuable for them nevertheless as an inferior class.

Individual property rights are extensive only in primitive nomadic pastoralism, as for instance among the reindeer breeders. Their property concepts conform closely to that of the foodgatherers. Among the Samoyed, Tungus, Koryak, Chuckchee, thus, even women may possess individual property.

But among the advanced animal breeders this is impossible. The joint family, headed by the patriarch, claims all property. Thus the Turk, Altai tribes, Buriat, Mongols (except the Kirghiz and Yakut), the cattle raisers of East Africa, the Hamitic Galla and Somali, the Masai, Suk Turkana and others, all of them permit their women no private property, nor their sons living in the joint family.

When the patriarch dies, the rights and duties of property management are taken over by the eldest son. If the joint family dissolves, all sons get their share; but the eldest son gets the main share since he has also the duty to support his mother and unmarried sisters. Women do not inherit; often they themselves are inherited and become the wives of the main heir. This is so especially among the Turc and Mongol tribes, but less pronounced among the more primitive Chukchee and Koryak.

Hospitality is a sacred duty among many pastoral tribes. Generosity gives great social prestige.

Thus we see that the property concepts of the foodgatherers have been changed and modified in various manners by the more advanced cultures of the foodproducers. The possibilities lying dormant in the property concepts of the foodgatherers have become realities and laid the basis for our modern complicated concepts and usages.

We also notice how strong the influence of the tribal society is on the development of the property concepts and usages of its members and how, in turn, also the property concepts of a particular social group influence and modify its social concepts and usages. Thus a mutual interrelation exists between property concepts and social institutions.

CHAPTER XVI

ART

ART is a part of culture; if primitive man has culture, he will also be an artist. This is indeed so.

Primitive art can mean something crude, something produced with insufficient means of expression, or something produced with a certain lack of sophistication in inspiration and with great simplicity of vision. This primitivity can be deliberate and need not be the work of a primitive.

But we take here the term "Primitive Art" in the sense of "Art of the Primitives," and restrict the term "primitive" to those peoples who are outside the modern European civilization as well as outside the great Oriental and Middle American civilizations.

1. *Dramatic Art*

It is perhaps in dramatic art that primitive man has first expressed himself artistically.

Mimic art generally comes into play whenever a person performs before an audience not with the intention to represent himself, but another person; and when he does this by means of mimics (imitation). We distinguish optic mimics (play of gestures and face expressions, disguise behind masks and complete costumes), and acoustic mimics (the acoustic imitation through mere noise, or words, dialogue, song and music). Dance is only then drama when the dancer at the same time plays a role. The animal dances of the primitives are consequently without exceptions real dance dramas.

Also the play of children can be mimic, for it is an imitation of the world as experienced by children. But it is no drama because the children do not deliberately put up a play for an audience.

It is generally assumed that the origin of the drama lies in the religious cult. But it need not be. It owes its origin more to the urge in man to appear in the role of another in front of an audience and to be accepted by this audience as such and to earn its applause. In fact, the distinction between pure cult forms and profane acting is often not definite. One of the essential distinctions between the two forms of drama is the mental attitude of the actor himself. In the religious drama the actor gives up his own ego whose place is taken by the superhuman being which he represents. This being uses the human carrier of its disguise as its object and medium. In profane acting, the actor also represents another person, but he does not relinquish his own ego.

Dramatic art is the oldest art of mankind, which, as an all-comprehensive art, includes all other arts at least *in nucleo*, and puts them into its own service. It thus inspires painting and sculpture which create new products mainly for the service of the mimic plays. In primitive drama, the lookers-on and listeners are not completely passive as later in the performances of the more civilized peoples. In primitive drama, the audience plays the role of a choir, marks the rhythm by clapping with the hands or beating them on the thighs. Usually the listeners also accompany the action with melodies sung by them. Later primitive music instruments make their appearance: sound sticks, xylophons, drums and string instruments. Music and song are originally not independent arts, but integral acoustic parts of the theatre.

In the most primitive cultures, that of the foodgatherers, men as well as women have the right, when in the proper mood, to step from the accompanying choir into the action of the drama. In the dramatic performances of the more advanced cultures, the advanced hunters, the agrarian cultures and also the nomadic shepherd tribes, the men alone, or the women alone, display themselves as actors before an audience. It was the custom in Europe up to the time of Shakespeare that men also played the roles of women.

The oldest form of the drama is thus the "opera" in which every word of the solo player was sung and accompanied by a singing choir. The simplest form is the play of a solo performer who invents all the roles and actions on the spur of the moment, mimics, dances and sings, while the audience sitting around him repeats the refrain.

This is common practice among the African Pygmies who are accomplished actors. A single narrator acts all the parts that occur in the story. The repertoir consists of stories about love and hunting. This curious one-man theatre stands and falls with the approval of the audience.

The oldest form of the ensemble play is the animal pantomime, in which diverse members of the local group, each in his own manner, mimic a herd of game animals optically and acoustically. The audience marks time by clapping their hands and singing their songs—each animal has its own typical melody. Such group plays are common among the Tierra del Fuegians, who thus depict the life and behaviour of the sea lions which they hunt.

Dramatic performances are held already in the culture of the foodgatherers. Fights between the animals, or the hunt of such animals, are the main themes presented. Thus the South Aranta of Australia perform a kangaroo play, in which these animals fight each other in a realistic manner. Similar mimic plays are performed by the Katkari of Bombay State. The dialogue is not recited or sung exclusively by the actors on the stage, but also by the audience surrounding the actors. Such plays have survived even among civilized peoples, in the puppet theatre and in certain folk plays; for instance in the European St. Nicholas plays, or when Father Christmas enters the children's room.

A purely acoustic play is another version of the primitive theatre. It seems equally old as the drama. It is found already among all foodgathering tribes. But it has developed less fully than the drama. It is the earliest form of the religious drama. The foodgatherers conceived God as an invisible spirit; consequently in their earliest plays they did not allow him to appear visibly on the stage. But they made God heard by imitating the sound of thunder. Early special noise instruments were invented to imitate the voice of God and of other superhuman beings, like the ancestors, the totem spirits, the totem animals, the spirits of the dead and of demons, etc. Examples of such intruments, are the so-called bull-roorers small, flat, comical slabs of wood, bone or stone, whirled on a string found in all five continents and already in the Magdalenian period of prehistory, the wooden trumpet of the Pygmies of Africa and the Aranda of Australia, the pot instrument of the Ituri Pygmies. The latter use also wooden or bamboo trumpets (to awaken the forest). These sound instruments represent really acoustic masks, as they enable the staging of purely acustic plays with faked voices and noise instruments.

The Negroes of the Ituri use such trumpets in imitation of the sound of the clan totem. It has a magical significance.

In general, primitive music involves the use of all the vocal resources, including whispering, speaking, humming, singing and even yelling. In the same way, at some time or other, any implement capable of producing a rhythm becomes a musical instrument in the hand of a primitive.

But also the optical mask is as old as mankind. It does not only appear in the agrarian cultures, as it is commonly believed. The earliest mask is the face distorted by mimics (thus among the Pygmies). Later the disguise is improved by artificial means, with material taken from nature though not yet artificially improved. This disguise consists of an attire made of feathers and twigs, bark strips and animal skulls. Equally old is face painting.

In a later period this disguise is perfected not only by masking the face, but by dressing up the whole body. Since the earliest actors represented animals, the animal skin with its head intact is probably the oldest form of a theatre costume. Already in the foodgathering stage of culture we come across the habit of painting the body and of representing various animals by diverse dyes (ochre, red, white and black). Sometimes the costumes are made of wickerwork, as among the Yamana, or of grass or leaves, as in Australia.

Mimics true to nature and rhythm are nicely balanced in the dramatic performances of the foodgatherers. Later, the magic art of the advanced hunters rises to naturalistic animal representation. Its prehistoric forebears were the hunters of the Magdalenian period. The agrarian cultures, however, symbolize their fertility conceptions to such an extent that the roles and actions often become obscure and cannot any more be understood without expert interpretation.

Masked dances, in connection with widespread secret societies of the agrarian cultures, play an important part in the Pacific area. The mask, endowed with a rare power, is manufactured by men in secret places which may not be entered by the uninitiated. The newly admitted youths are warned under severe tortures never to divulge any detail of the cult. Traitors and women who by accident stumble into a secret meeting or gain knowledge of the secrets are often killed in a most painful manner.

Certain masks, especially in the secret societies, possess sacral functions which may increase fertility, prosperity or secure the happiness of the deceased in the other world. But other masks, as in Liberia, for instance, exercise merely police and juridical functions. For such tasks the authority of the mask, which is worn by the men carrying out their duties, is naturally of great importance. Similar is the function of the other masks of the secret societies. In some places the mask of the spirit of the dead, after the sacral part is over, begins to narrate and to enact profane folk-tales and legends in a falsetto voice.

The stage for such performances is already in the foodgathering cultures a circular place cleaned of shrubs and bushes. The South-East Australian Yuin build a veritable theatre by bending the tops of trees towards each other and thus forming a cupola over the stage. Theatre buildings in the proper sense of the word, ceremonial huts, which are indeed required either by the inclemency of the weather or the exigencies of the actors (their invisibility, for instance) are erected by the Tierra del Fuegians and the Semang of Malaya. Light for a nightly performance is supplied by a burning pile of wood, by flickering torches or by moonlight. As theatre decorations we may also regard the floor paintings and the reliefs of the Australians and the Red Indians of North America.

Even dramatic schools are not absent in these most primitive cultures: it is one of the essential tasks of the tribal initiators to explain the traditions and customs of the tribe to the boy and girl initiands. This is achieved most impressively by staging dramatic plays performed either with or by the initiands.

Even critics are not lacking in such plays. First, the elders who supervize the correct performance of a play as demanded by tribal tradition are free with their criticism after the performance. And the actors themselves often discuss, after the play, the success or failure of their acting. Most important, of course, is the criticism of the audience which generously applauds or severely condemns a performance.

The author of the drama is in primitive society the artistic man who often at the same time acts as dramatist and composer, performer and director, teacher and critic. The leader of the play is often the tribal magician.

The drama performed by the foodgathering tribes may usually be for mere entertainment, making the people happy or inspiring them with awe; but often it is also a play with a purpose, either in the service of the social group, as for instance during the initiation of boys and girls, when the performance of mimic plays has the purpose of instruction in tribal lore. Such a mimic performance may have a magical purpose. Thus advanced hunters perform hunting plays in which animals painted or carved on rock walls provide the opponents in the play. Such hunting plays are performed to bring success in future hunting expeditions. Or the play is intended to increase the fertility of the game animals. Often a mimic copulation is enacted by the players wearing masks and representing the animals. In agrarian cultures, a similar "sacred copulation" is enacted on the ploughed field with the intention to fertilize the fields, animals and men. The Eskimo Shamans stage spirit dramas to placate the divine mistress of the game animals or to exorcise evil spirits. The Gabun Pygmies re-enact the whole life of a hunter in pantomime lasting often for hours during the funeral ceremonies. This is really a mimic obituary.

The primitive agriculturists often expand the range of their dramatic themes by the cult of the ancestors. Fertility myths too are enacted. On their right performance depends, in their opinion, the future prosperity of the whole social group. But even historical events, meetings with friends and enemies, may be dramatically reproduced. Even the deity is brought on the stage; first, only to be heard, later also in visible form.

The tribal theatre is the mimic tribal and world chronicle of the primitive cultures and as such represents a rich source for the study of the culture and life, philosophy and religion of a tribe.

The tradition of primitive mimic art survives, though up to now scarcely recognized and often completely ignored, in folk dramas and folk plays, through all stages of culture into the highest civilization. These folk plays are enacted seasonally, usually either in mid-winter or mid-summer. A study of these folk dramas may be very informative, for in them survive old beliefs and customs which civilised man may have discarded long ago, but which live on in his subconscious mind and may still influence his behaviour and thinking, through he may not be aware of it.

2. *Painting and Sculpture*

The products of primitive art are far from uniform. Every tribe, however primitive, has developed its specific style, giving preference to certain objects and patterns. Fashion naturally plays an important part, resulting in change of styles. Art styles are not static but dynamic phenomena, bound up and changing with specific periods of cultural development.

The materials of primitive art are the same as in modern art: stone, bone, wood, clay, ivory, metal, even dyes and paints. The means at the disposal of the primitive artist vary according to his cultural level and to his environment. Primitive methods also vary considerably. It is a curious fact that sometimes the same methods and techniques are applied in altogether different areas. It is not certain whether this is due to borrowing or to independent invention.

Primitive art is always utilitarian; there is a practical purpose in primitive art. It is either to convey information, a pictographic art, the preliminary stage of writing; or to record historical events of importance to the tribe, historical art. One of the principal sources of artistic inspiration is religious emotion. Religious rites and mimic performances require symbols, the figures of gods and demons, masks, fetishes, or totem figures (totem poles of the Kwakiutl). Thus religion and magic inspire the primitive artist to produce works of art in paintings, carvings, tattooings and sculpture. Art for art's sake is almost unknown in primitive culture. A test case would be landscape painting; for this has no practical use. We find it only in paintings of the Torres Straits and of the Bushmen and even there it is extremely rare.

Since primitive art is produced for a practical purpose, it has its social implications. It furnishes the formal arrangement or design for a large number of social activities: religious rites, warfare, politics, work, sport, etc. This includes music, dancing, poetry and drama.

The products of primitive art have also economic value. The finished product is the property of the artist who may sell it, barter it or simply give it away. It may be made to order, or even for mass production. In more primitive communities, artistic production is mainly occasional, but in culturally advanced communities we find also professional artists. A large proportion of decorative art is the monopoly of women. The women of the North American Plains Indians, for instance, prepare the hides, while the men paint them. Women also do most of the weaving and pottering, while sculpture is generally the monopoly of men. In Central India, Gond and Baiga women paint and decorate with reliefs the front walls of their houses, and they also do the highly decorative tattooing.

In the higher stages, the individualism of the artist is well recognized. It is so on the Ivory Coast of West Africa and in North-West America.

Some primitive art has attained the highest level of realistic portrayal, so in Africa the art of the Ife, on the Ivory Coast, in the Cameroons, on the Congo; in some South Sea Islands, in America (Mexico, Peru), and in New Zealand.

Not all primitive art lacks perspective or is deficient in vision. Palaeolithic and Bushman art, for instance, have produced remarkable attempts at fore-shortening, over-lapping colours, linear perspective and colour-shading.

Products of primitive art are sometimes not purely optical works, but of an "intellectual" nature. Thus we find the so-called X-Ray drawings in Australia, Melanesia, British Columbia and Alaska. In North-West America, we come across a rendering of ribs and vertebrae; in North-West America and in the Pacific, a stylized representation of the joints; elsewhere an artistic accentuation of certain features (symbolism) or geometric forms in decorative drawings, in patterns of textiles and basketry. The colouring often depends on the material.

(*a*) *Primitive Art in Prehistoric Europe*. The oldest art comes from the Upper Palaeolithic period (20,000 to 10,000 B.C.). It could be even earlier, but there is as yet no strong evidence of such artistic products. Already in prehistoric times, we have various stages of art. In the Aurignacian period, we find predominantly small human figures in the round, a few stone reliefs of large dimensions, but many engravings and paintings (mainly silhuettes, in red and black). In the Magdalenian period, we find mainly engravings and paintings of high artistic value. Here art has mainly magic functions. The products of these art styles are found in Europe as well as in North Africa.

(*b*) *Primitive Art in Africa—Bushman Art*. While living Bushmen are at present no great artists and produce only crude geometric engravings on ostrich eggs, prehistoric Bushmen were great artists. Their art resembles Franco-Cantabrian art. Their art products are found all over South Africa, Tanganyika and the Sahara.

They include naturalistic wall paintings, in various colours and with a remarkable observation of nature. The representation of the characteristic contours is especially typical for this art. There are even attempts at fore-shortening; at profiles, front views as well as back views, which latter are most difficult; at gradual shading of colours.

Negro Art. Negro art is predominantly plastic. We have several centres of Negro art in Africa: in the Sudan, from the Senegal eastwards to Lake Chad, and in Benuë, joining the Niger; in the Congo, between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes, with Angola as a southern extension; in East Africa among the Makone and Bantu. But their art is not comparable to West African art.

In West Africa, the classical art is wood sculpture, while Benin art is in bronze. Since the material was naturally of cylindrical shape (tree trunks, elephant tusks), this resulted in a lack of proportion which is typical in this art. We find also a great variety of masks; some are purely realistic, some highly stylized; they are often highly coloured.

The purpose of West African art is the production of figures with religious or magic significance (ancestors, fetishes); of toys, or of portraits for souvenirs.

The Benin art, which is several centuries old, produced bronzes of two kinds: figures, and reliefs of complete scenes (animals, human beings, mythological and magic symbols) in *cire-perdue* technique. It produced also works in ivory; elephant tusks were carved in relief, goblets and tankards; armlets and other ornaments too were carved. Even terra-cotta and quartz were occasionally used as material for this art.

Present-day Yoruba art is vastly different and consists chiefly in wooden figures and masks. These are polychrome, but are of low artistic value.

(*c*) *Primitive Art in Asia—In Prehistoric Times.* No artistic products of Palaeolithic times have so far been found anywhere in Asia. Neolithic products of art have been found in Siberia and Central Asia. They are primitive fish idols and rock pictures (engravings, pecked drawings and paintings). Of the Bronze Age we have a large number of ornaments and utilitarian objects of bronze and gold, also animals and human figures. They are largely associated with Scythian art (from Hungary to southern Russia, and from Persia to North China). These art products display a primitive vision, but great technical perfection, a mixture of decorative stylization and naturalism.

Primitive features can also be discovered in classical Chinese art: conventionalized animal patterns with two symmetrical profiles, usually entangled in complicated curved ornaments, scroll-work, etc. The figures are of a primitive type.

Prehistoric art in India may date back to the Upper Palaeolithic period, but its age is doubtful. We find rock paintings at many places (Mirzapur, Singhanpur near Raigarh, in Adamgarh and Pachmarhi). Much more recent and of high standard is the art of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. It is a highly developed art in clay, steatite and copper. We can distinguish three styles: a very primitive naturalistic style, a naturalistic style of great aesthetic quality, and a highly stylized and conventionalized type of art. It is not clear whether Hindu art has developed from Mohenjo daro art.

Products of art in the Middle East go back to the fourth millenium B. C. In Syria (Tell Brak: 3100 to 1500 B. C.), we find primitive alabaster heads and stiff stone figures of large dimenzions, also primitive clay figures, which were painted. Similar art products are found in Tell Halaf (3400 to 2600 B.C.). In Mesopotamia, in Ur (end of 4th millenium B.C.) we find art products of high technical and artistic standard, in Luristan we come across an art which is related to Scythian art. It is an art of horse breeders and warriors.

Recent Primitive Art in Asia. In India it appears that Hindu civilisation has so strongly infiltrated aboriginal culture that the primitives offer little material for an original art of their own. But some such centres can be found in Orissa, in West Bihar (anthropomorphic pole sculptures) and in the Nilgiris. The Toda there form artistic clay vessels and also the figures of animals and human beings. In the villages of India a peasant, or derivative primitive, art is found in their pictures, wood carvings and brass figures of village deities. To this art type belong also the marriage toys of the Kutiya Kondh. In Ceylon and South India, we find artistic devil masks. Many aboriginal tribes display paintings and clay reliefs on the walls of their houses. They are the products of women.

In Assam, the Naga tribes carve in wood human heads in round and relief, also the heads of the *mithan* (cattle). These products are of considerable artistic value. The Angami Naga are supreme in artistic achievement; they carve life-size figures over the tombs. Similar figures are found in Nias, though there they are smaller.

Indonesia is a melting pot of various races. Thus also primitive art in Indonesia displays great variety. We find different decorative and plastic arts among the primitive tribes of Sumatra (Batak), Nias, Borneo, the Philippines, etc. On Bali we come across grotesque Hindu statues and masks, in medieval Java a rich Buddhist sculpture.

The primitive tribes of northern Asia have their own typical art forms: the Chukchee and Ostyak carve very simple idols on poles; their art style is, therefore, a typical pole sculpture. The Koryak excel in walrus ivory and bone sculpture, similar to that of the Western Eskimos. The figures are very naturalistic. The Gilyak produce coil and spiral patterns which resemble those of the Chinese. The Ainu carve funeral posts; they have been influenced by Japanese art. The Lapp of northern Europe manufacture dagger sheaths decorated with engravings (reindeer); their work is similar to that of the Eskimos.

Primitive Art in Oceania. As we find three main races in Oceania—Polynesians, Micronesians and Melanesians, also their art styles can be distinguished as Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian.

New Guinea is one of the three most prolific centres of primitive sculpture in Oceania. The common raw material is wood. New Guinea art is mainly the ornamentation of utilitarian objects. Its motifs are derived from mythology, religious beliefs, ancestor worship or magic. The principal art provinces in New Guinea are the Sepik and Ramu river valleys, the Purari Delta, the Massim area in South-East New Guinea, and Dutch New Guinea which has been influenced by Indonesian art styles.

All art styles of New Guinea can ultimately be traced back to South-East Asia. This is at least the opinion of R. Heine-Geldern.

In Melanesia the art of the Bismark Archipelago excels in plastics. A notable centre is New Ireland. There we find very artistic sculptures: memorial statues of chalk, images of chiefs carved of wood and also wood carvings of animals.

Micronesia has three principal art centres: Yap, where we find admirably naturalistic wood carvings of animals;

Nuroro, with highly stylized wooden statuettes which are faceless; and Palau, with polychrome carvings of mythological and other scenes. There they manufacture wooden bowls of abstract or representational forms, dyed red, varnished and inlaid with shells.

The Polynesians display a marked sense of beauty in their geometrical designs on bark cloth (*tapa*). A sharp distinction can be noticed in the styles of central and of peripheral Polynesia. Central Polynesia has little sculpture, but excels in the perfection of their well shaped instruments, also in the noble curves of the *kava* bowls (on Samoa, Fiji, etc.). Sculpture is however well represented in Tahiti, Hervey, Marquesas, Hawaii, New Zealand and Easter Island. There too Polynesian art is most refined, with a finely elaborated technique. On Easter Island we find huge stone figures with large heads and faces. They seem to be memorials of famous men; some probably connected with cults of the sea-bird god. We find there also wooden statuettes representing deceased men.

Primitive Art in Australia. Australian art is a true reflection of their peculiar culture. It is predominantly graphic. We find rock engravings and paintings in various parts of Australia, belonging to different periods. So far 37 groups of these have been studied. Australian tribes also make paintings on bark, to adorn huts and temporarys helters. They are of the X-Ray type. In Central Australia we find linear designs on the bull roarers (*churinga*). Sculpture in the round is found in North-East Australia and in extreme West Australia.

Primitive Art in America. On the American continent exists an overwhelming variety of art styles. Some tribes excel in sculpture, others specialize in graphic arts, in coiled, twines or plaited basket work, in artistic weaving, in pottery plain or painted, or in metal work. We find all stages of art from greatest primitivity to highest perfection.

The Eskimos have an art style which resembles much that of ancient Chinese art. In North-West America, we find artistic totem poles (Kwakiutl), weaving and basketry, also drawings and paintings. The Iroquois and Algonquians have embroidery and wooden masks. The Mound builders of prehistoric times had effigy moulds, plastics and pottery.

The Plains Indians have a graphic art, while the Pueblo Indians are accomplished in pottery.

Ancient Mexico and Central America are renowned for their high standard in architecture, sculpture and painting.

South America is rich in art in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and North Argentina.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCEPT AND ORIGIN OF RELIGION

1. *Concept*

EVERY human society finds means to develop, sustain and intensify, in its members, the intention to keep the unity of the common life. One of these means is religion. In primitive society, religion rouses and gives expression to the consciousness of the community in its members; and by so doing it stimulates and strengthens the intention to maintain the common life.

The way religion achieves this is remarkable and significant. It takes an element in the common life and invests it with a special significance. It may be singing or dancing or eating and drinking together—something that is already a normal part of the life of the community. But for this purpose the song becomes a sacred song, the dance a sacred dance, and the meal a sacred meal. They have a special meaning attached to them which is not their everyday meaning: they are done, not for the normal purpose merely of happy living, but for a special purpose. They become ceremonies.

Of course, religion has other functions too. But here we want to stress its great importance in the development and sustenance of social life in human groups. Religion is a worldwide phenomenon; as such it must, therefore, be studied in primitive societies.

It is difficult to give a definition of religion to which all will subscribe. The word "religion" is derived from the Latin *religare*, to bind (i.e., to bind man's self to God). From the point of view of the subject we would define religion as the recognition of one's dependence upon a supernatural being or beings for whom certain actions must be performed (W. Schmidt). From the point of view of the external expressions of (internal) religion it must be asserted that religion comprises all activities characterized by a persuasive or propitiatory attitude towards the supernatural world (J. M. Cooper).

Religion is often confused with magic. The word "magic" is of Turanian-Iranian origin; it means "profound." Magic is the attempt to control the mysterious forces of nature by means inadequate to that end (W. Schmidt). Or, according to its external expressions, magic comprises all activities characterized by a coercive or compulsive attitude towards the supernatural (J. M. Cooper). The magician, therefore, is the fore-runner of the scientist, for his task is first to discover the causes of things and then to avoid their effects. Religion has it the other way round; it means using natural means to produce supernatural effects (sacraments). Magic means using supernatural means—or so they are regarded—to produce a natural effect.

Religion has three elements in common with magic: an intellectual one—it is a process of reasoning, recognizing a causative force for the existence of all things. The content of faith is generally based on the traditions of the human group to which a person belongs. Then, there is a common emotional element in both, a certain awe, reverence, fear or affection, towards the "numinous." There is also a volitional element in both religion and magic, a petitionary or propitiatory attitude towards the supernatural world in religion; if this attitude is coercive or compulsive, it is magic.

The objects of both religion and magic may be divided into four groups: ghosts, spirits, gods and the Supreme Being. A ghost is a being that once lived on earth as man (an outstanding warrior, hunter or chief, or in general just an ordinary man). A spirit, on the other hand, has never been a human being. It is one of the forces of nature living in things. Spirits and ghosts are not entirely incorporeal. A god is a spirit or ghost who enjoys a certain marked eminence among his fellow supernaturals. A god is a personal being. The Supreme Being stands alone as worthy of worship. But in some religions near-supreme beings exist who rank first among the lesser divine beings: a demiurge, a tutelary spirit or other intermediary beings.

According to the four types of objects we have four types of religion: Manism—the worship of ghosts; Animism—the worship of spirits; Polytheism—the worship of gods; and Monotheism—the worship of the Supreme Being.

Magic may be divided into many different types. It can be contagious or sympathetic, if it is the belief that once related objects retain some connection even though they are separated (for instance, the relation between a wounded man and the agent of his wound); it can also be imitative (homoeopathic) or symbolic, if it is the belief that, owing to a certain likeness between things, influence can be exerted from the one to the other without physical contact (images or effigies of enemies are injured or destroyed, etc.). Magic can also be active or passive; active magic is concerned with the accomplishment of something, the attainment of an aim, while passive magic is the magic of omens, of signs which foretell what must be done or avoided; it is divination of any sort. Magic can be positive or negative; it is positive, if composed of positive precepts—charms and incantations, for instance; negative, if it comprises negative precepts—taboos or prohibitions. Magic can also be private or public; the former consists in practices carried out by private individuals, while the latter consists in communal ceremonies, usually conducted by official medicine men. Magic is white or black; it is white if the practices performed are intended to bring about some favourable results even if they are achieved with the help of evil spirits; it is black, if it is intended to cause some evil result by incantations, spells and other actions.

2. *The Origin of Religion and Magic*

Religion and magic are found in all primitive cultures. A belief in superhuman beings or powers, and consequently in religion (or magic) is an absolutely universal phenomenon and obviously congenital with man. Religious and magic conceptions exist side by side; the emphasis shifts from the one to the other. Magic without religion is not found in any tribe, nor is religion without magic, as far as primitives are concerned.

So far it has never been proved that a tribe ever existed that was without religion. Van Dongen's assertion that the Kubu of Sumatra were without religion has been disproved by B. Vroklage, and W. Tessmann's claim that the Ucayali Indians of South America were irreligious has been rejected by missionaries working in the area.

But, on the other hand, exclusive and "intolerant" monotheism is, if ever, rarely found in primitive peoples; the Tierra del Fuegians are perhaps nearest to it. But a moderated form of monotheism (worship of a Supreme Being or High-god to whom all the other deities and superhuman powers are subject) is very common. It is found in almost all foodgathering tribes and in many of the more advanced tribal communities.

The belief in and the worship of a Supreme Being appears to be more common and more pronounced in the mere foodgathering (or marginal) cultures. In Africa, it is found among all the Pygmies, the Boni in the East, Ajongo and Nkule in the West, the Batwa in Urundi, the Bagielli of the Cameroons, the Batwa of Ruanda and the Bambuti of the Ituri. The Bushmen also believe in a Supreme Being.

In Asia, this belief is found among the South Andamanese, not, however, among the tribes of the northern and central Andamans. The foodgathering tribes of India are strongly influenced by Hinduism; they all believe in a Supreme God, but it is impossible to prove that their concept of a High-god is original and not borrowed from the Hindus. The belief in a Supreme God is also found among the Semang of Malaya, the Senoi, and the Negritos of Luzon; the explorer Vanoverbergh discovered even a nocturnal liturgy addressed to the Supreme Being and conducted in an ancient language which is no more understood.

The Tierra del Fuego tribes of South America as also the South-East Australians have this belief in a Supreme Being.

It is particularly strong among the arctic hunting tribes, as the Samoyed who are half animal-breeders; the Koryak who are likewise half animal raisers and have also adopted some features of a matriarchal culture; the Caribou Eskimos, as Rasmussen proved; the Ainu of North Japan whose religion, however, has a strong admixture of magic.

The North American foodgatherers and hunters have likewise a firm belief in a Supreme Being; examples are the North-Central Californians, the Hoka, Penuti, Yuki Dene, and the Algonquian tribes in general. Even certain tribes in the interior of the North-West share this belief, like the Joshua and the Inland Salish. The belief in a Supreme God is found among the following Algonquian tribes: the eastern tribes or Lenape, the central tribes, like the Cree, Ojibwa, Potowotomi, Menomini, Foxes and Sauk; among the western tribes like the Blackfoot, the Atsina, Arapaho and Cheyenne. Certain Sioux under Algonquian influence, like the Winnepago, Jowa and Dakota, also believe in a Supreme Being.

In South America, this belief is shared by the Gez-Tapuya and, as already mentioned, the Tierra del Fuego tribes.

It should also be pointed out that all the above-mentioned tribes believe in a Supreme God in spite of being surrounded by tribes of a superior culture whose concept of God is obscured and confused. Thus in North America, the concept of a Supreme God is much purer among the Inland Salish than among the totemistic Indian tribes on the West coast, the Bella Coola being intermediate between the two groups.

Manism, animism and magic are also found in the food-gathering cultures, but in a lesser degree than in the food-producing cultures. Thus we find manism or ancestor worship, along with the belief in a Supreme God, among many tribes like the Pygmies of Central Africa, the South-East Australians, the North-Central Californians, the Algonquians, the Koryak and Ainu (to a lesser degree). They believe in and worship a primal pair from whom they believe their tribe to have descended. The Andaman Islanders and the Kurnai of South-East Australia do not fear the dead; they even carry the skull and parts of the bones of their dead relatives around or keep them in their huts. Death is believed to be a punishment of God when he has been angered. So believe the Tierra del Fuegians, the Pygmies and the Negritos. That is why they leave their habitat when a death occurs.

They practise burial in the grounds; only a few tribes use to cremate their dead.

Some tribes, like the Yuin and other South-East Australians, also the Hottentots of South Africa, and the Blackfoot Indians of North America believe that the first man was their ancestor. His symbol is the moon, or some lunar animal (a hare, rabbit, porcupine, jaguar, snake or lizard). In legends, he often appears with a wounded or withered knee (symbol of the waning moon). He is often confused with the Supreme Being and worshipped in his place. There exist crude images of the First Father which are used in initiation ceremonies and for worship while no images depict the Supreme Being.

These tribes use to bury their dead in a niche-grave, a pit with a side-chamber in it. They do not venerate the dead.

Animism is the belief that some kind of spirit is associated with or dwells within a certain material, often inanimate, object. Animism is not prominent among the foodgathering cultures, while it is strong in many superior, particularly agrarian, cultures. We find a pronounced animism in parts of Melanesia and Indonesia, on the West Coast of Africa, in South-America north-east and south-west of the Amazonas, in the north-west and south-east of North-America.

Wherever foodgathering tribes have animism, they seem to have adopted it from foodproducing neighbours. This does not deny the fact that even foodgatherers have an idea of a soul. They may have gained the concept of the soul through practical sound reasoning.

With regard to magic beliefs and practices we must state that all foodgatherers have magic, though generally to a lesser extent than the surrounding superior cultures. Thus the Semang of Malaya practise a shamanism which is not indigenous. In addition they have a still more ancient form of magism (with quartz crystals), similar to that of the South-East Australians and Californians. The shamanism of the Andamanese is probably imported from the Nicobar Islands. In the arctic culture areas, the Caribou Eskimos and the Koryak display decidedly less magic and less malign sorcery than their culturally more advanced neighbours. The Ainu and Samoyed, on the other hand, are steeped in magic, but it is clearly of recent origin and derived from foreign sources. The North-Central Californians and the Old Algonquian tribes have only the simpler and less harmful forms of magic. Most explicitly the fact is shown in Tierra del Fuego and South-East Australia that those tribes that have been arrested in the earliest stage of human culture have the least developed forms of magic belief and practice. Thus the Halakwulup of Tierra del Fuego, and the Kurnai of South-East Australia have the feeblest and most infrequent attempts at magic. The Bushmen of South Africa are accomplished magicians, it is true, but magic is rampant in their whole territory, and their Hottentot and Bantu neighbours practise magic much more intensively. All African Pygmies believe in and practise magic, and they believe that their High-god is the source of all magic power which penetrates the whole world and all things in it. Still, their Negro neighbours are much more expert in magic than they.

We have stated above that cultural change is universal and that even the foodgatherers are not excluded from it. But the pace of cultural development differs in the various races and cultures. In the foodgathering stage it is slowest, but quicker and more radical in the culturally more advanced societies. This would imply that the foodgatherers conform closer to the earliest human culture than the foodproducing societies. If, therefore, the foodgathering tribes have a more pronounced theism and less magic, manism and animism, the conclusion seems justified that the belief in a High-god was the predominant form of religion in the earliest period of mankind, while magic, manism and animism developed later.

The question of the ultimate origin of religion and of magic cannot be solved with our as yet incomplete knowledge of prehistoric and primitive cultures. But since the phenomena of theism, manism, animism and magic (although alike in certain features) differ so profoundly in other respects, the conclusion seems correct that each has had its own separate origin. Thus many anthropologists and historians of religion today hold that the various forms of religion and magic did not evolve one out of the other in progressive evolution or degenerative devolution, but that all four or five phenomena had an independent origin and grew up and developed independently. But there has been such a vast amount of intermingling of all the different types of religion and magic that it is nearly impossible to unravel the knots of confusion.

The eminent anthropologist P.W. Schmidt came after a long study of the primitive religions to the conclusion that early man received his knowledge of God and religion through a primary revelation by this same God. We must admit that there is much anthropological evidence which speaks for such an assumption. Many primitive traditions state expressly that such a revelation took place. However, the human mind could even unaided by the light of revelation have arrived at a knowledge of God and practice of religion.

CHAPTER XVIII

OTHER THEORIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION

No tribe or people in the world, however primitive or highly civilized, is without religion and without a belief in God. Such a universal phenomenon must be explained. The origin and universality of religion may be attributed to a revelation by God Himself, or else to causes which lie in man's peculiar nature. To the person who is a believer in God it is hardly conceivable that after God created man He left him without any instruction, how to discover Him as best as he might. God must have spoken to him most intimately in many ways, and man's thoughts must have turned to Him in love, gratitude, worship and petition.

For the person who does not believe in God, or denies the fact of a Divine revelation, however, it becomes incumbent to offer an alternative explanation for the universal distribution of religion among all human tribes and peoples.

Such explanations have indeed been thought out by various students of religious phenomena, and we shall discuss them now one after the other.

1. *Nature Mythology*

One explanation for the origin of religion was proposed by some scholars in the 19th century: it was nature mythology. This explanation suggested that the imagination of primitive man was roused by nature phenomena, like the sun, the moon and the stars, by storm, rain, the sky, dawn, etc. These nature phenomena were personified and deified by primitive man, who retold the happenings on the sky in myths.

A myth is thus a story the subject of which can be traced back to the ancient past, but the content of which is of importance for the religious belief of the present times. The telling of the myth not only satisfies the urge for knowledge, but this knowledge is in itself important for the life and behaviour of the listeners. Some scholars restrict the concept of myths to the life of the gods, but this restriction is not justified. Stories about the life and deeds of the ancestors, of demiurges and high gods (who are no more conceived as alive or interfering with present human life) may still exert their influence on the behaviour of human social groups just through the mere retelling of the story (K.T.H. Preuss).

The events of a mythical story are often enacted in the religious ceremonies of a social group. Instances are the Kloketen ceremony of the Selknam or Ona (Tierra del Fuego) during the initiation ceremonies, combined with the rites of a secret society; the Kuksu cult of the Wintun and Pomo in California, the Sso cult of the moon, etc. of the Pangwe (hoe cultivators) in the Cameroons (Africa).

(*a*) *Nature Mythology.* The pioneer of the School of Nature Mythology was Ad. Kuhn, who wrote his most important books between 1859 and 1886. But a more renowned representative of this school is Max Mueller.

Max Mueller traced the origin of mythology to a disease of language and claimed that the existence of many names for one object (polynymy) and of the same name for several objects (homonymy) produced a confusion of names, resulting in the combination of several gods into one, and the separation of one into many. His theory held the field for a long time and gained numerous adherents.

Max Mueller explained his point in a "solar theory" so called because the chief myths of the Vedic, Greek and Roman mythology all refer to solar phenomena. We mention, for instance, the names of Usha, Dyaus Pitar, Zeus and Jupiter. The idea is that certain historical events found permanence in the sky, where they are repeated ever since. Personifications of the relations of the sun to other heavenly bodies and occurrences are said to be the main source of the rich creations of Vedic and Greek-Roman mythological imagination. Thus the rosy dawn, which heralds the rise of the sun and of the new day, is interpreted, now as messenger of the sun, now as a coy maiden fleeing before his ardent advances.

The oldest forms of Indo-European myths were found in the hymns of the *Rigveda*, whose origins are to be traced to some natural phenomena, in which the sun, moon, dawn, sky and clouds play a large part. Hence, myths are regarded as merely poetical representations of celestial phenomena. Their names became later on obscure, and lost their original meaning; often they were personified. Thus Daphne, a nymph of Greek mythology, is a modified form of Sanskrit *dahana*, the dawn, designated as the "brilliantly shining one" (Sanskrit root *dah*, to glitter or shine).

Max Mueller's explanations, accepted by the other representatives of the Philological School (so called because their chief reliance was on determining the source and kinship of mythical figures by etymological analysis) were successsfully attacked by Andrew Lang.

Andrew Lang claimed that Max Mueller's interpretation, based on language, was too narrow, inasmuch as myths precisely similar and as irrational as those found in Vedic and Greek mythology, also existed among the Australians, South Sea Islanders and Eskimos, to mention a few. But the languages in which these latter relate their myths were entirely dissimilar to Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

(*b*) *Star Mythology*. A later modification of nature mythology was the star mythology developed by E. Siecke (Drachenkaempfe, 1907). He maintained that the divine beings are personifications of natural phenomena, of the stars. Primitive man was impressed by nature and the sky; awe and fear made him adore the heavenly bodies.

In evaluation of both these theories it must be stated that the nature and star mythologists take their data, first of all, from highly developed religions (Indo-Europeans) and ignore the oldest religions which have much less mythology. Moreover, such personifications of nature phenomena require a necessary religious disposition which could have as well induced primitive man to develop the idea of God rationally. Finally, primitive man has social myths as well; in spite of these, marriage and family life cannot be held to be the result of star movements (sun and moon, moon and Venus, etc.). Star and nature myths are projections of human experiences into the sky, and not the other way round.

(*c*) *Archetypes.* C. Jung, the psychoanalyst, has another explanation for mythological concepts and for religion as well. Jung claims that the human mind thinks in symbols. He calls them archetypes. Myths all over the world are similar because the human mind forms the same mythical symbolic complexes all over the world: the mother (earth-mother), the dwarf (soul, ego), the diving motive, the snake (phallic symbol), the fish, the trickster, the werwolf, the revival of dead bones. The myths of the primitives are the dreams of civilized modern man. Such symbols are likewise expressed in poetry, in surrealistic paintings, in religion.

In evaluation of this theory we may point out the fact that mythology certainly plays an important part in the spiritual life of many primitive tribes, in particular of those in the stage of foodproducing culture. Mythology concerns itself in a striking manner with identical objects all over the world: cosmogony, paradise, fall into sin, a universal flood, a saviour, eschatology, salvation of man from evil and sin, etc. But mythological thinking does nowhere in the primitive world replace rational thinking. Both manners of thinking exist side by side; while rational thinking proceeds from cause to effect, and draws valid conclusions from given premises, mythological thinking employs predominantly symbols, analogies, and parallels from macrocosmos (world, universe) to microcosmos (man). There is no evidence that mythological thinking is an earlier form of thinking than rational thinking.

Moreover, the polytheistic religions which have such a large nature-mythological element in their content owe their origin to Middle-East high-cultures. They are essentially the same in West Africa, Egypt, Mesopotamia and in Indo-European regions. Such polytheistic religions are not found outside of the high-cultures and polytheism has not even reached all of them. Thus the religions of East Asia and of the Andine South America have no polytheism; China and Japan received it only through Indian Buddhism.

All this proves that nature mythology cannot have been the origin of religion.

2. *Pan-Babylonism*

Soon after the striking excavations were made in Babylon, and its script was deciphered, it was believed that all mythology had its origin in Babylon from where it spread over Asia Minor and then over the whole world. The centre of all mythology was believed to be the Moon (Pan-lunarism). Representatives of this theory were H. Winkler, A. Jeremias, E. Stucken and G. Huesing. W.J. Perry claimed that all mythology can be traced back to Egypt.

In evaluation of this theory it must be stated that the myths of the primitives cannot be products of Babylon since they are so much older. Moreover, Babylonian myths are very specialized speculations and could not very well have been thought out by primitives. They postulate an advanced standard of culture. Finally, it must be pointed out that religion and mythology are much older than Babylonian civilization.

3. *Manism*

H. Spencer claimed that manism was responsible for the growth of religion. Manism means the cult of the dead, especially of dead chiefs and tribal ancestors. It is based on the belief of the survival of the soul after death. The souls of the heroic ancestors were later deified. Manism is found sporadically in all parts of the world.

Against this theory must be said that Pygmies and Negritos certainly believe in survival after death, though they may not venerate their ancestors. Other tribes too simply leave dead bodies or expose them without rites. Moreover, ancestor worship is also found in tribes who have a strong belief in and worship of, a Supreme Being. Manism consequently cannot be at the root of religion.

4. *Animism*

The animistic theory was invented by Edward Burnett Tylor who wrote his important works between 1872 and 1882.

Tylor's theory is this: Primitive man forms his first idea of a soul from two biological problems: the phenomena of sleep, ecstasy, illness and death, and from the phenomena of dreams and visions. The next deduction is the existence of an incorporeal principle; from this the continued existence of the soul after death and the transmigration of souls follow logically. The idea of a retribution in another life is, according to Tylor, a still later deduction.

Man regarded other things to be as he was; in analogy, other objects also had to have a soul, not only animals and plants, but even inanimate objects.

Ancestor worship was a cult of dead men who had no longer an earthly body, and therefore were pure souls; hence arose the conception of pure spirits. These spirits could take possession of living bodies not their own; this gave rise to the conception of possession. Illness and death were regarded as the effects of such spirits. This explains the growth of fetishism, stock and stone worship and of idolatry in general.

The principle of separate and pure spirits was then applied to nature. From this resulted the worship of nature, and the beginning of a natural philosophy. The worship of water, of rivers and of the sea; of trees and forests; of animals, totems and serpents, followed out of this. It culminated in the deification of not an individual animal, but of a whole species.

The next step was the higher polytheism of the half-civilized and civilized races: the deification of the sky, the rain, thunder, wind, earth, water, fire, the sun and moon. A whole host of gods was created, gods of birth, of agriculture, of war and of death. They were all connected with the deified father of the race.

With regard to ethics Tylor believed that early man had originally only the conception of the good and helpful, of the bad and harmful; it was a parallel to light and darkness.

The highest level of religion was reached in monotheism. It came about by raising one of the gods of polytheism to prominence, or by arranging the pantheon in the manner of a royal court, the king of the pantheon being the Supreme Being. At the same time arose the conviction that the universe was animated by one great, all-pervading and all-dominating divinity—the *anima mundi* or "world soul."

Confronted with the belief in a Supreme Being among very primitive tribes, Tylor countered the difficulty by tracing the existence of such beliefs to the preaching of Christian missionaries.

Tylor's animism was at first widely accepted, so by Andrew Lang (who made use of this theory in his attack of nature mythology), by many German anthropologists, by Protestant exegetes like J. Lippert, by German folklorists like W. Mannhardt, and by W. Wundt.

But it was soon necessary to assume a pre-animistic stage of religion. Andrew Lang maintained that pre-animism took two forms, that of magic and that of primitive monotheism.

In evaluation of Tylor's animistic theory it must be stated that animistic concepts are certainly prevalent among the primitives, but they co-exist with the belief in a Supreme Being and with magic. Animism, therefore, cannot be the origin of religion.

5. *Fetishism*

Another explanation of the origin of religion was found in fetishism. The word "fetish," Portuguese *feitico*, a manufactured object, expresses clearly the belief of certain scholars that the fetishists actually adored lumps of clay and stumps of wood, or idols formed of wood or stone. A forerunner of this theory was Charles de Brosses (1760), but Auguste Comte and J. Lubbock developed this theory more elaborately.

Scarcely any other phenomenon in the sphere of natural religion has been as much misunderstood as fetishism. The reason being that in its evaluation the scholars were guided by superficial observation, without penetrating to the heart of the primitive world outlook which is really at the basis of fetishism.

The fetishist has in fact a highly developed concept and cult of God and the gods, of the ancestors and spirits, and fetishism is nothing else but a specialized form of the dynamic world view, the centre of which is the belief in an impersonal power. Ultimately it is the life power which is conceived to be effective everywhere in the universe and which is accumulated in more concentrated form in certain objects, persons or places.

Fetishism is consequently nothing but the belief in the existence of a power which can produce good or evil effects and which is indispensable in life.

Fetishes are consequently never and nowhere idols or deities, deserving a cult, but amulets and talismans of a specific type. They are either tribal or village fetishes, or individual fetishes; the first serve the community, the latter individuals.

Fetishism is thus no religion, but magic, and the incantations, blood and food offerings are to be considered as magic rites.

6. *Totemism*

Another group of scholars thought that totemism would aptly explain the origin of religion. Totemism was first made known by J.F. McLennan, then adopted by Lubbock, Tylor and H. Spencer. But the main exponents of the importance of totemism for the origin of religion were J.G. Frazer, E. Durkheim, S. Freud and W. Robertson Smith.

J.G. Frazer wrote a great work on totemism, but later he rejected the theory that totemism could explain the origin of religion.

W.R. Smith, who had made a special study of the sacrifice among the Semites (as recorded by St. Nilus), assumed totemism at the basis of all religion. He maintained that on a certain festival the totem animal, identified with the god and the members of the tribe, was sacrificed, a communal meal made of its flesh and blood; thus the intimate connection with the totemic god was renewed and his vital powers newly absorbed by this common feast, or communion. He claimed that all sacrifices were derived from this totemic communion sacrifices.

A true evaluation of this theory must point out that such cases of sacrifice are extremely rare. Moreover, totemism is less connected with religion than with magic. Also there exist religions without a trace of totemism.

Sigmund Freud explained the origin of religion by totemism differently. According to him man lived in the past in hordes, consisting of one adult male, some females and immature individuals. The sons of the primal horde were driven off by their father when they grew up. They later banded together, slew their father, ate him, and appropriated the females. As a survival of those primordial times the psychoanalysts discovered a sub-conscious sexual love of the son for his mother, and of the daughter for her father. The totem, now, is a father-substitute. The primordial hatred of the son for the father is transferred to some beast to which the child feels himself related.

God is nothing more or less than the sublimated physical father of all human beings; hence in the totemic sacrifice it is God himself who is killed and sacrificed. This is mankind's ancient original sin. This blood-guilt is atoned by the bloody death of Christ.

The opponents of these theories of W. Robertson Smith and S. Freud are able to point out that totemism cannot be at the beginning of religion. The Indo-Europeans, Hamito-Semites and Ural-Altaics had originally no totemism. The sacrifice and meal of the totem animal is rarely found among totemists. Moreover, the pre-totemic races are generally no cannibals. Patricide and cannibalism are exceptions in the oldest cultures. Finally, the pre-totemic family is no horde, practising promiscuity. Thus both theories rest on false premises.

E. Durkheim took the proofs of his thesis that totemism was the cause of the rise of religion from the religion of the Arunta in Central Australia. But it is now an accepted fact that the Arunta belong to the latest of the six strata or so into which the culture of native Australia can be divided.

Durkheim regarded wrongly the High-gods of Australia as the logical results and the highest forms of totemism. But it can be proved that the belief in a High-god is pre-totemic.

7. *Dynamism and Magism*

Most common nowadays is the assumption that religion has developed out of magic. There is no agreement among the scholars in what manner the transition from magic to religion actually took place.

One group of scholars maintains that primitive man is rational; but extraordinary events cause such emotion and mental confusion that occasionally he reacts irrationally in order to avert them if dangerous and to invite them if favourable. These emotional actions crystallize into magic ones through repetition—so believed J. King, J.G. Frazer, A. Vierkandt and Th. Preuss.

Another group of scholars reasons in the following way: Extraordinary events required, in the mind of primitive man, extraordinary and irrational measures, while ordinary needs and dangers could be met with by ordinary reactions. Magic was thus applied where no rational measure was effective—so assumed E. Durkheim and L. Lévy-Bruhl.

A third group of scholars attributed the origin of magic to spontaneous and reflexive motions of expressions caused by psychic emotions. A following consideration brings these expressions into causal relation with the psychic experience. Later it is believed that if the expressions are set they will cause the experiences. This is the theory of R.R. Marrett, E.S. Hartland, K. Beth, R. Otto and others.

This magic then developed into religion. According to Frazer, this happened in the following manner: Primitive man believes that all that happens happens by personal or by impersonal powers. Impersonal powers are prior. These could be met with by magic. When magic was ineffective man approached the personal powers with prayer and sacrifice. This then was religion.

According to E. Durkheim, magic power is believed to be contained in man, animal and in inanimate objects as well. Later this magic power was personified in the things and endowed with reason and will-power. Thus it became an object of veneration.

Opponents of these theories point out justly that magism and animism, though certainly of high age and found in the earliest cultures, are always found alongside with religion, and never are complete substitutes for religion. Primitive man even believes that ultimately magic power and the life spirit are also from God. Thus religion cannot be derived from magism or animism. A study of the earliest religions suggests that the belief in a personal God was first; then a differentiation took place as a result of which the magic world outlook could overpower the personal and religious one.

Nor is magism a pre-rational and pre-logic stage of human thinking. The primitive, believing in the efficacy of magic and acting accordingly, is subject to the same logical process of reasoning as modern man, but he proceeds from different premises, and possesses a world-view and experience at variance with that of civilized man.

His reasoning is based on the conviction that an interior world sphere exists in which all exterior events have their inner equivalent; he believes in a mystic participation in which all things and all actions are inter-related to all other things and all other actions. The exterior sphere, distances, as also the measureable time, past, present and future, are of no importance. The inner sphere of the world is beyond space and time, and not subject to their laws. Everything is synchronized. The medium of this mystic participation is a living, though impersonal, force which is called *mana* by many Pacific tribes, while the Red Indians of North America often call it *orenda*, *wakenda* or *manitowi*. This force is at the back of all things, and the vital essence of all things is concentrated in it. It corresponds in a way to the *prana* of Indian philosophy; and even to the more ancient concept of *brahma* which oscillates between a purely spiritual essence and a magic-astral world-soul; similarly conceived is the concept of *tao*, of the ancient Chinese. In fact, magic concepts play a more important part in the Taoist circles than among the Confucianists or Buddhists. In modern parlance we would speak, instead of *mana*, of "cosmic pneuma," the "astral" or "ether," "cosmic magnetism," the "fluid," "od;" almost every author has invented his own terminology for the same thing. Magician or sorcerer, shaman or medicine man is he who is able to influence this magic force by mental concentration, and corresponding ceremonies and practices. The magician is distinct from the priest, who is a servant of religion, not of magic. This may not prevent a priest to act at times as a magician, or vice versa.

Mana is able to penetrate all things, it is effective in all, and may "possess" an inanimate object, a plant or animal, as well as man. It may be present in "diluted" or in "concentrated" force. Deities are often personifications of *mana* forces, visible in lightning, thunder, in vegetation, in the earth, fire, water, etc. From here a link may be forged to connect magic with mythology. But *mana* cannot be influenced in the ordinary manner by causal and mechanistic means; it reacts only to analogous magic; by performing a symbolic action so that the magic powers may imitate it; by imitating a certain event so that the causative powers of this event may repeat it and cause the same effect once more.

Since domination and direction, propitiation and support extended to the magic powers is of such eminent importance for the welfare and prosperity of the individual as also of the social group, magic practice based on and prompted by, magic belief, is among many tribes well developed and plays a central part in tribal life. This analysis, based on many anthropological data and not on preconceived speculations how things could have developed, may explain many actions and ceremonies of the primitives which otherwise appear incomprehensive and illogical to us.

CHAPTER XIX

THE RELIGION OF THE PRIMITIVES

In the light of much new research in our times all these various theories explaining the origin of religion have proved inadequate and can easily be disproved. Moreover, they are based more on preconceived speculations than on actual facts. We do well if we distinguish also in a discussion of the religion of the primitives between foodgatherers and foodproducers. By this distinction we are able to ascertain the religion of the tribes nearest to early man though a wide gap may separate us still from the religion of earliest man at the dawn of mankind.

1. *The Religion of the Foodgatherers*

A number of foodgathering tribes are known who entertain a clear concept of the Supreme Being; among them are most Pygmy tribes, the Bushmen, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and of the arctic zone (except the Koryak) and well-nigh all primitives of North America. In South-East Australia are the Kurnai, Kulin and Yuin who have a clear idea of a High-god.

These tribes believe that the Supreme Being is closely connected with mankind and in former times used to live on earth. He taught man all manner of good and instructed him in his social and moral duties. After God had left the earth, due to some fault of man, he began to live in the sky though he is not identical with the sky. Lightning is his weapon; thunder and storm the expressions of his anger. Less close is God's connection with fertilizing rain.

The Supreme Being cannot be perceived by the senses; he cannot be seen; but he can be heard and felt. He is like the wind which cannot be grasped; he is like the sky—without shape. But some tribes believe that God resembles man; old with a long beard, or white like cotton; he is light or shining white, like fire, surrounded by sun-rays or a blazing light. The tribes do not carve any image or paint any picture of the Supreme God.

The general name of the Supreme Being of the foodgatherers is "Father" simply; or "my Father," "our Father." The name "Creator" is not widely used, for creation of the world and of man is often relegated by these tribes to a subordinate being, the First Father, a demiurge.

More widely used for the Supreme Being is the name "sky," or names like "He that is above," "He that lives above," or "He that is in the sky." Other significant names are "the Old One," or "the Old One above," the "Primeval," the "Master above," the "Giver," the "Upholder" (of the universe). He is also called the "Great Spirit."

The attributes assigned to the Supreme Being are eternity (a sort of eternity, meaning that He existed before all beings and will never die), omniscience (often in the interests of morality, a function of His ethical character), benevolence (He is altogether good; all good, and nothing but good, comes from Him); high morality (He is unalterably righteous, the giver of the moral code), omnipotence (He has boundless power, He is master over life and death), and creative power (He made the world, and He made man).

Generally the connection between the Supreme Being and morality is well recognized; God is the giver of the moral code, He rewards the good and punishes the wicked, and judges both the living and the dead.

The Supreme Being is worshipped by prayer (sometimes without external expression, or only with gestures; often it is spontaneous, informal, petitionary prayer, or prayer of thanksgiving; in a few cases there is also propitiatory prayer), and sacrifice (absent in a few tribes; the dominant form is that of the first fruits; rarely the sin-offering of blood). The Supreme Being plays an important part in the initiation ceremonies and in certain seasonal feasts.

But the Supreme God is never the sole god of the foodgatherers; in their pantheon always minor dieties are also found. The factors leading to polytheism are mainly three: differentiation, plurality of superior beings, and the otiosity of the Supreme Being.

Differentiations occur when, as among the arctic tribes, a divine protector of beasts is split off from the Supreme Being or when one of his main functions is personified. Other differentiations occur when God is identified with the sky, with water, air, or the whole of nature. Or the High-god is identified with the sun or the moon. Sometimes it is the "First Father" who obscures the Supreme God, takes over his functions and blends with him. Sometimes the problem of evil leads to a pluralization; there must be another god who causes all evil. Another factor for pluralization is the anthropomorphic view that God must have a wife and children.

We may still speak of monotheism in these tribes if they maintain that the minor deities are created or controlled by the Supreme Being.

Polytheism may also be caused by a personification of God's main functions. First there is a plurality of superior deities whose functions (because they are very important) enhance also the importance of their personalities. Ultimately they may even overshadow the importance of the Supreme Being himself.

Polytheism is the natural result, if the Supreme Being becomes an otiose deity. The idea behind this otiosity is that God is the maker of the world and its benevolent ruler; but He is uninterested or only mildly interested in the social and moral obligations of man, provided they fulfil their ritual observances. Some exaggerate the goodness or greatness of God: He is so good that prayer and worship are quite superfluous, or He is so great that mere men should not dare to approach Him with their veneration or petitions. In some cases the belief in a High-god remains almost entirely within the field of philosophical and speculative thinking, and is too little concerned with active, dynamic fervour in religion.

2. *Among the Foodproducers*

The process of desintegration of the Supreme Being, begun already in the foodgathering cultures, into a plurality of divine forms is carried still further in the religions of the foodproducers. In the tribes with a predominantly hunting economy the Supreme Being is often an otiose deity. He is generally dissolved into his attributes and main functions or obscured by or identified with, the tribal ancestor. The intensive preoccupation of these tribes with hunting brings another deity to the forefront: the "Lord of the Animals" or the "Bush or Game Spirit." He is already venerated by such foodgathering tribes as the Bushmen and African Pygmies, and by the arctic hunting tribes like the Samoyed, as also by the Algonquians. He is often conceived in animal form. For the concentration on hunting led to the belief in the essential uniformity between man and animal. Both can exchange their forms. Thus the "Bush or Game Spirit" also may assume animal form. His function is manifold: he is the lord, often the ancestor, of the animals and the hunters alike. He sends game and he withholds it. He assists the hunter, shows him the game and directs his arrow. He has other animal helpers. He is heard in the sound of the bull-roarer. He possesses magic-power and gives it to the hunter. He must be propitiated when animal (or hunter) is killed. At the initiation a youth is accepted into the tribal community after having killed his first animal. Special rites are required to protect him against the revenge of the spirits of the forests and of the animals. These are part of the initiation ceremonial.

Besides the Supreme Being and the Bush and Game Spirit, the hunters believe in animal spirits. Each individual man (among the North American Prairie Indians, for instance) has his own protective animal spirit. He is acquired through penance, fasting and much meditation. His appearance and help is sought by the same means. The animal spirits appear in Africa mainly in the form of the Felidae, mostly as leopards; in the arctic zone they appear as bears or reindeer. It is firmly believed that these animal spirits, the individual totems, render effective help to the men who acquire them.[1] There is also a belief in the re-incarnation of all animals killed in hunting, provided certain customs are observed.

Some of these tribes perform a solemn sacrifice of these animals with propitiatory rites. The remains of the sacrificial victim are buried, the skull and long-bones are frequently exposed on a platform or on poles. The sacrifice is accompanied by dances and pantomimes in animal masks, often of an erotic character, to increase the fertility of wild game. Famous in this connection are the bear sacrifice of the Siberian tribes and the Ainu, and the buffalo dances of the North-American Red Indians.

---

[1] A Montagnais Indian of North America relates: "For some time a swan has been suddenly appearing to me and saying this: 'If you promise never to shoot at me, I will promise to protect you wherever you go!' "

The individual totemism of the hunting tribes develops into clan totemism in a number of tribes. The result is a further moving away from the relative monotheism of the foodgatherers and primitive hunters. Through the improvement of the hunting methods and the closer team work and better organized group hunting, the individualism of the earlier hunters is weakened. Thus clan totemism develops.

However, these tribes still retain a lingering memory of a High-god and a feeling of dependence on him or on his son, the Sun god, but the High-god is an otiose deity, having no direct connections with man. Often he is represented as the evening sun, weak with age and tired of life. He is rarely worshipped.

In these cultures, a mythology is evolved which centres around the sun. He is the tribal ancestor—the First Father. He is represented in animal form (lion or wolf, eagle, hawk or falcon). These animals are at the same time frequently the totems of the chiefs.

The totem animals are as such rarely worshipped, though certain taboos are attached to them. Some totemists (in Africa) believe that after death man returns to his totem animal form.

The sun is the uncreated source of eternal life. In initiation, the initiands are painted red, their hair is plucked out to make them resemble the rayless morning sun. At burial the bodies are often drained of their fluids and later embalmed to keep them intact with skin and bones for their revival. Dead magicians receive a special treatment.

This solar dynamism frequently develops into a solar pantheism: all men, in particular the males, have a share in the regenerative power of the sun. The chiefs possess a larger share of this life spirit.

The regenerative power of the sun was passed on to the present generation through the ancestors. Therefore, the present generation owes them veneration. But there is little true worship of the ancestors, religion being smothered by magic.

For magic rites assume, in these hunting cultures, special importance, rendering prayer and sacrifice unnecessary: if the gods can be forced by magic, why approach them as supplicants? The magic powers are acquired through special rites of initiation. These magic powers are impersonal but immaterial, and attached to persons and things. They are called *mana* in Melanesia, *wakanda* by the Sioux, *orenda* by the Iroquois and *manitowi* by the Algonquians.

In these cultures, menstrual blood is much dreaded. Women in their monthly period are, therefore, excluded from the community and considered unclean. This is so throughout North America as well as South America, Siberia, South and West Africa, India and Australia, wherever totemistic tribes are found. A menstruating woman must avoid all connection with men; she must not touch other people's food or cooking utensils; she must avoid water, especially running water.

3. *The Religion of the Agrarian Cultures*

The religion of the predominantly agrarian cultures, on the other hand, takes another course of evolution. The Supreme Being loses in this culture his importance to the Earth-Mother. The earth is at first associated with him as his wife, sister or daughter; in some cases the High-god himself assumes female sex. More often, however, he is degraded to the position of a son of the Earth-Mother. He assumes the features of the bright moon, while the Earth-Mother is conceived as the moon-woman.

The Earth-Mother, the fertile soil, now assumes the first place in the pantheon. First she is conceived as the ground used for cultivation; later as the earth in general. Mythology connects her with the moon. This is probably due to the moon's alleged influence on the growth of plants, and to the monthly periods of the women which coincide with the moon phases. Their importance for fertility was early observed.

Usually the moon-woman (or the Earth-Mother) has two sons: one is the bright moon (representative of all that is good and beautiful; therefore he is often a rival of the Supreme Being); the other is the dark moon (representative of all that is bad, ugly and stupid; the lord of the nether-world, of the dead. He is often the enemy and destroyer of the bright moon). The cycles of the moon are a symbol of life and death of the first man; of the creation of the world and plant life, and the final extinction of all of them.

Sacrifices to the Earth-Mother are often bloody; they consist in tearing out the heart, liver or lungs from the living bodies of both human and animal victims; in the presentation of the still quivering organs to the deity; in the cutting off of toes and fingers; in the piercing of the victims bound in prescribed positions to trees and scaffolds with arrows; in the torture and sacrifice of prisoners taken in war or on head-hunting raids. Such customs are found among the agrarian tribes of Indonesia, India (among the Khond, Khasi, etc.), in Burma and Indo-China, Tibet (from where they spread to Central Asia), among the Great Lakes tribes of south-western North-America and among the ancient Aztecs of Mexico.

In these cultures animism is predominant: all living beings are endowed with a spirit, and even material objects may contain it. But the living beings come to life, grow and reproduce only because the spirit in them makes them do so. In death the spirit leaves the body. A spirit released from its body becomes dangerous.

This belief results in fear of the spirits of the dead; hence rites are performed to prevent their return and to placate them. The souls of the sorcerers and shamans are particularly dreaded and all manners of rites are employed to appease them. So it is with the North-Asiatic and the North-American tribes, as also in Tibet. Also the souls of those who died a violent death (suicides, persons killed by wild beasts or dying from snake bite, drowned or struck by lightning, women dying in childbirth and pregnancy, etc.) are dangerous to the survivors.

Rites are, therefore, performed to prevent their souls from returning and harming the survivors: hence, the breaking of the bones of the dead, driving nails through their heels; tying and bending the body into a bundle; weighing down the grave with heavy stones are a common practice.

The dead often receive a double burial: a temporary one until the flesh is decomposed and the skeleton alone left; and a final disinterring and preservation of the skull, alone or with other bones. The personal belongings of the deceased are usually buried with him, but in "ghostly condition," i.e. broken or turned the wrong way. Offerings of food and drink as well as bloody sacrifices are made to the spirits of the deceased for a long time. These are prompted by the belief that the way of the spirit to the nether-world is long, arduous and dangerous; therefore assistance from the survivors is necessary.

Life in the after-world is generally not believed to be influenced so much by the good and bad actions in this life, but by the correct performance of the burial rites; this is another proof of the magic world-outlook in these agrarian cultures to the detriment of religion.

In these agrarian cultures the men frequently form secret societies, an important aim of which is the worship of individual ancestors. The rites include skull worship and masked dances.

With regard to magic we find that these cultures practise it on a large scale. The connection between menstrual blood and fertility is recognized. Therefore, the life spirit is sought in the blood. Fertility rites are performed which consist mainly in the spilling of blood: hence they indulge in animal sacrifices in a bloody manner, in head-hunting, in the spilling of blood and burial of sacrificial flesh in the fields.

The agrarian cultures abound in passive magic, the magic of omens, especially of evil omens. Necromancy is common among them, by divination or the getting of oracles from the dead, by sleeping on their graves, by performing certain rites with their bones (shoulder blades), by offering sacrifices to them. Such rites of necromancy are found in Africa (among the Yoruba, Kikuyu, the tribes of South Africa), in Australia, Melanesia, Indonesia (Dayak), in ancient Greece and Babylonia.

4. *The Religion of the Pastoral Nomads*

The religion of the pastoral tribes, who remained at a primitive stage of animal breeding, retained much of the beliefs prevalent in the foodgathering stage of culture.

Among them is a strong awareness of their dependence on a High-god whose help they invoke for the herds: for sun and rain, for protection against epidemics, frosts and snow, for fertility.

Besides belief in a High-god, we find a strong animal cult with animal symbolism among them.

Among the more advanced pastoralists, however, a polytheistic religion is very common. It is possibly derived from the polytheism of the West-Asiatic high-cultures with which these advanced pastoralists stood in long cultural contact. This polytheism has many common features.

All the advanced pastoralists believe in a High-god whose picture, however, may be blurred through a conceptual mixture with a deified king, (probably originally) the god-king of the Middle-East city states. Not seldom the High-god of the advanced pastoralists is also confused with the sky, often with the material sky (Tengri), or with the sun. The universe is graded in heaven, earth and hell. Each section is again sub-divided into various departments. Heaven is the dwelling place for the souls of those who have led a good life while on earth, while the hells are reserved for the souls of the wicked. The Supreme God, however, who has created the whole universe dwells in a region which is still beyond the highest heavens.

Lower deities also exist in a great number. Partly, they are mythological personifications of the heavenly bodies, like the stars, storm, sun and moon, of the elements like water, fire, the four points of the compass, etc. Mountains and rivers, springs and trees are specially sacred to them. They assume the most important functions of the Supreme Being who is then often relegated into the background and becomes an otiose deity. The lower deities are invoked to guard the herds and wild animals, and to provide them with food. One or the other of these deities may even turn into an adversary of the Supreme Being. But generally the supremacy of the High-god over all the others is still undisputed.

Other deities of the advanced pastoralists display very human passions and urges; they are super-human only in their powers and abilities. But they have a purely human life-history, with birth, marriage and death and differ from heroes only because they receive a higher cult, and enjoy a more general veneration. Even the High-god may possess such anthropomorphic traits, and may be subject to human weakness. But when inferior deities oppose him he is always victorious.

The animal breeders have a well developed ancestor and hero cult. The ancestor of the tribe is often either merged into the Supreme God and then receives the same cult (as among the Mongol and Turcoman tribes), or he turns into the adversary—the evil principle. In the latter case, he is connected with sorcery. This is perhaps a heritage of the agrarian cultures with which the advanced pastoralists were in the past long connected. The memory of the departed heroes is kept alive through epic ballads; they are also worshipped.

The animal breeders bury their ordinary dead in barrows of earth while mounds and mortuary chapels are built over the bodies of the rich and distinguished leaders of the tribe. Their happiness in the other world is secured through the sacrifice of numerous human beings (wives, slaves and others), animals (especially the horse), and through rich grave gifts.

In the practice of religion we must again distinguish between primitive and advanced animal breeders. The ritual of the primitive animal breeders is simple and consists in prayer and sacrifice. Prayer is still mainly addressed to the High-god who is called "Father," even "Father and Mother." Most of the prayers are prayers of petition.

The sacrifice of the first fruits of the foodgatherers has been widely retained and developed further. Often it is the main herd animal which is sacrificed with a rich and complicated ritual.

Among the advanced pastoralists the ritual of prayer and sacrifice is much more elaborate. They have prayers of praise, of thanksgiving, petition, but scarcely any propitiatory prayers. The sacrifice of the first fruits or of the main herd animal is also practised by the advanced animal breeders. It is performed in recognition of the High-god's supremacy and sovereignty. In accompanying prayers God is addressed as the maker and provider of food (animals). The sacrifice is performed, for the individual family or family group, in or in front of the tent (yurt). On more festive occasions and for larger groups (clan or tribe) the sacrifice is performed on hills or mountain tops, in birch groves.

The officiating priest is, for the individual family, its head; for the extended joint family the patriarch; for the tribe its chief, or a shaman as his substitute, the black shaman or sorcerer having no official position in these sacrifices.

The sacrificial victims are domesticated animals. Among the South Altai tribes it is mainly the horse; secondarily it is cattle of both sexes, of whitish colour; in the central group (Abakan Tatar, Soyot, Karagass, Yugur) the sacrificial animal is now the sheep, but formerly it was also the horse. The Yakut sacrificed the horse until the beginning of the 18th century; now no animal sacrifice is performed. The reindeer breeders sacrifice a whitish reindeer. It is remarkable that in Inner Asia no camel sacrifice is performed. This seems to prove that the camel is a late arrival in Inner Asia.

Along with this sacrifice of the first fruits goes a libation of milk, sweet or sour, or alcoholized (kumyss). Thus the South Altai tribes offer cow milk; the Abajan Tatar mare's milk.

The time when these sacrifices are performed varies. Simple family sacrifices are performed on various occasions, but the solemn sacrifices take place at certain seasons; in spring, in autumn, in the calving season.

The ritual is characterized by a great display of solemnity and intensity of feeling. It is rich in songs, exhortations, dances, processions, cavalcades and sacrifices. The animals are often killed by suffocation, because it is believed that the life spirit is in the breath and not in the blood; the victim should remain whole, with its blood. The first form is, therefore, the offering of the skull and the long bones; but in later times the customs and beliefs of the agrarian peoples seem to have been adopted by certain tribes and consequently the heart, the lungs, the liver and the blood of the victims were also offered. In these sacrifices the animal is killed by opening the chest and removing its heart. This is offered to the evil spirits (in the earth) or in expiation. The sacrifice is followed by a common sacrificial meal.

A vague shamanism is wide-spread among these tribes, but often carried out by professional shamans, who are again divided into white and black shamans; the first are connected with the gods and benevolent spirits, the latter with the evil spirits and practise black magic.

The religion of the East-African cattle breeders is not uniform. But all of them possess a strong belief in a High-god. The Galla, in southern Abyssinia, for instance, believe in a Supreme Being to whom black colour is sacred (it is a symbol of the cloudy sky; the rainbow is God's belt). God is omniscient, omnipotent and benign. He is the creator. He gave the Galla their moral code. But besides this Supreme God, the Galla worship also many lower deities, nature spirits, a goddess of fertility and an evil spirit who is red.

Another cattle breeding tribe, the Masai, have also a pronounced belief in a High-god. The Masai are filled with the idea of a mission to perform. Their High-god is a sky-god; his hypostasis is the thunder-god. The evil spirit, made visible in lightning, is red. The Masai have practically no animism. But their family mores do not fit into the family system of the animal breeders in general; they resemble more those of the advanced hunting tribes. It is very likely that the Masai belonged formerly to a hunting culture.

The monotheism of the Herero is degenerating due to the strong influence of neighbouring agrarian Negroes. They believe in a Supreme Being, but do not worship Him. Their religion is more concerned with the veneration of the tribal ancestors.

The Hottentot, probably a mixture of Hamites and Bushmen, in the past also believed in a High-god; for them he was a sky-god, who was however often confused with a tribal hero. He had an adversary, the embodiment of evil. Today all Hottentot are Christians.

The Nuer, a cattle-breeding tribe of the southern Sudan, are a highly religious people. They believe in an all-powerful Spirit, the Creator, and in lesser spirits of the air and the earth, as it were, refractions of the Great Spirit. They stand in special relationship with given individuals, lineages and clans. The Nuer High-god is all-righteous and demands right conduct from his people; he punishes evil-doers with sickness, death or other misfortunes.

The chief religious observances of the Nuer are prayer and the sacrifice of animals to avert or ward off imminent or present illness or other disasters. They offer animal sacrifice to repel divine punishment when it has struck, and have even the custom of confession of sins. They have no ritual of thanksgiving. The health of the animals or their fertility is dealt with by low-grade and despised magicians, who are probably recent imports from the neighbouring Dinka. So is their totemism.

The study of the religious beliefs and practices of the food-gathering and foodproducing cultures shows clearly that the evolutionistic scheme thought out by so many scholars in the past is not correct. If an evolution took place, it took a contrary course: from a comparatively pure monotheism to polytheism, and from a weak form of animism, ancestor worship and magism to a strong growth of animistic and magic beliefs and practices.

CHAPTER XX

THE RELIGION OF PRIMITIVE INDIA

1. *The Religion of the South Indian Tribes*

THE tribes of South India practise a religion which is more or less strongly influenced by Hinduism. The degree of Hinduization is less noticeable among the mere foodgathering tribes, has made some progress among the shifting cultivators and is much advanced among the superior agrarian tribes.

(*a*) *The Religion of the Foodgatherers.* A few remnents of foodgathering tribes are still left in South India, such as the Malayan, Mala-Pantaram, Kadar and Chenchu.

They believe in a Supreme Being whom they call by a Hindu name. Such names are Parama Shiva, Parameshvar, Surya-Ilura, Malavay (hill-ruler), Ayappan or Ayanar, Sastha (Sastan) with consort. The latter is a silvan deity, but also identified with Shiva.

The Supreme God is mainly conceived as a mountain god, riding on a horse or elephant, and fighting with the spirits. He is a hunting god: whoever meets Him in the jungle must die.

The Supreme God is represented in a crude stone slab. His worshippers sing His praises, and make offerings of rice, boiled in milk, sugar, plantains and fruits. Frequently one of the singers gets obsessed by the God; he is consulted in this state by the worshippers, who believe that the God speaks through him.

The foodgathering tribes worship also the ancestors. Some times the Supreme God (in the form of Ayappan or Ayanar) is even confused with the first ancestor. As such He is also a mountain or forest god.

The first ancestor is worshipped with bloody sacrifices of cooks, sheep and goats; or with liquor, opium and tobacco. Music of drums and pipes accompanies the sacrifices. During these ceremonies magicians frequently fall into trance and prophesy.

Besides the ancestors, also female deities are worshipped like Kali and Bhadrakali (goddess with many arms), obviously Hindu importations. Bloody sacrifices are performed in honour of these goddesses.

(*b*) *The Religion of the Primitive Cultivators*. Shifting cultivators survived in South India until the recent past. Tribes practising shifting cultivation are the following: Muduvan, Mannan, Urali, Mala-Arayan, Kanikar, Paliyan, Mala-Pulaya and Ulladan.

Their Supreme God bears also a Hindu name: He is called either Bhagavan or Ishvaran, also Devan. Sometimes He is called Sastha (with an attendant Karuppaswami by name), or Shiva.

No temples exist in honour of this god, who is represented by a stone under a tree and worshipped by bloody sacrifices of cocks, sheep and goats.

Besides this Supreme God, the primitive cultivators have hill gods whom they locate on the crests of hills. Thus the Mala-Arayan worship five hills which in their opinion possess superhuman powers. The Paliyan too consider the crests of hills as their gods and believe that these are haunted by spirits. The Paliyan preserve a portion of the primeval forest intact and dedicate it to the forest spirits. The Urali too believe that evil spirits inhabit the crests of the hills. The Mala-Kuruvan believe that the hills are inhabited by spirits. They perform sacrifices before clearing the jungle for cultivation and after sowing. The Muduvan venerate Kottamala Swami, Vadaganatha Swami and other gods and believe that they dwell on hill crests.

Besides these hill spirits, the primitive cultivators also worship their ancestors. Thus the Kanikar worship Agastya and the ancestors; the Vishavan offer libations to their ancestors before abandoning a plot of land up to then cultivated. The Urali worship their ancestors whenever they perform a sacrifice for their fields. So do also the Paliyan and Mala-Arayan; among the latter the ancestors play a prominent part.

They also have forest deities. Thus the Mannan dedicate a portion of the primeval forest to the forest spirits, while the Ulladan make annually on a Friday an offering to the forest spirits. After this offering they are no more afraid of wild animals.

Some of the tribes worship also the sun and the moon. The Kanikar, for instance, believe that the sun is the creator. The sun is a female, while the moon is a male (the mark in the moon is a hare). The sun is worshipped on Fridays.

The Thanta-Pulaya worship the sun and snakes. The Muduvan worship the morning and evening sun. The Urali believe the sun to be the creator of the universe and the father of all souls, while the moon is the mother. The Mala-Arayan believe the sun and moon to be the children of one goddess.

All these tribes are in great fear of evil spirits, especially the Kanikar and Urali. Among these two tribes the magician is an important person and he is believed to have the power of curing all diseases.

The tribes worship also Hindu deities like Subramania (worshipped by the Muduvan) and Karuppa (worshipped by the Paliyan and Muduvan). Female deities worshipped by the tribes are Meenakshi Amma (venerated by the Muduvan), Mariamma (venerated by the Muduvan, Mala-Pulaya and Paliyan). Kali is venerated by the Muduvan and Mala-Pulaya.

(*c*) *The Religion of the Advanced Cultivators.* A good number of South Indian tribes are fairly advanced in cultivation; some of these are the Parayan, Pulayan, Vendan, Vettuvan, Panyan, Nayadi, etc.

Their Supreme God is given a Hindu name and addressed as Shiva, Ishvara, Devan or Bhagwan. He has usually a consort.

Like the primitive cultivators, they believe this god to be present in a stone under a tree, and offer bloody sacrifices of cocks, sheep and goats to him.

Besides the Supreme God, they worship mainly mother goddesses. Prominent among these is the Hindu goddess Kali or Bhagavati. Often the Supreme God himself is conceived as a goddess; or they venerate an ancestress of their tribe. They also worship goddesses of disease like smallpox and cholera. Such goddesses are Mariamma (venerated all over southern India) and the Seven Ammas (Seven Mothers). The divine patroness of the village, the gram devata, is also venerated by these tribes.

They have a rich mythology which, however, suggests strongly original matriarchal religious conceptions. They probably borrowed them from superior matriarchal peoples like the Nair.

The cult of these gods and goddesses is rich and complicated. Sacrificial victims are animals which are decapitated (cocks). Even buffaloes are sacrificed, after they have been raced. It appears that in the past even human sacrifices were practised by these advanced cultivators. They have on the whole male priests, but priestesses are also known to officiate in certain temples.

All these tribes practise ancestor worship. The Parayan, for instance, do it through exorcists and shamans who are also supposed to be proficient rain-makers.

The practice of magic is intensive and wide-spread. The Parayan are known for their Oti cult. The members of this secret society are believed to be able to turn themselves into animals (into bulls, dogs, cats, even elephants). Tests are demanded from those who want to join the cult. They are also believed to be rain-makers. These tribes bury their dead. They do not practise cremation.

Snake worship is equally popular among them. The cult of the Nagaraja (Serpent King) is common among them. At every homestead a thicket (*kavu*) is set aside for snake worship. In the south-west corner of the garden an oil lamp is lit every evening, while once a month milk is offered. Special priests perform propitiatory rites on the properties of those who have become victims of the reptiles' wrath. Childless couples desiring offspring erect votive stones (*nagakal*) with snake emblems. At Mannarsala is a temple in honour of the snake god. It has a priestess (*valiamma*) who is celibate, as she considers herself the bride of Nagaraja.

2. *The Religion of the Central Indian Tribes*

(*a*) *The High-god.* The High-god of the Central Indian tribes is known by Aryan names: Thakur deo, Burha deo, Bara deo, Bhagwan, Dharmesh, Param Jiu, Narayan deo, Parmeshwar, Paramatma, etc. Only the Munda-speaking tribes (Santal, Munda, Ho, Bhumij, Birhor, Turi and Asur) call him Sing Bonga (*sing* means sun, *bonga*, originally the moon, means now a spirit). The Kharia and Kondh call him also Bero (sun). The High-god is often identified with the sun. Sing Bonga, however, is probably originally the bright moon, but under totemistic influence became the sun. The Munda still have another name for him; they call him Haram, "the Old One."

The High-god has no wife or brother; he does not require food, like the lower deities and spirits.

He is saluted at sun-rise. During public sacrifices he is addressed first. The only sacrifice of homage, which the Munda perform, is addressed to him. But also sacrifices of propitiation and petition are directed at him. He accepts with preference white animals (cocks, goats, bulls). The sacrificer faces the East when he officiates. In divination the High-god is invoked first, as also in thanksgiving ceremonies. In the funeral service he is mentioned as the master over life and death. He is reproached in misfortune, and called to witness in oath-taking. A periodical sacrifice is performed in his honour every third or fifth year, sometimes even later. The priest officiating in this sacrifice is the head of the celebrating family.

(*b*) *The Minor Deities*. The minor deities of the Central Indian tribes are of various types. One category could be called mountain and vegetation gods. Thus the Santal, Munda, Ho and Bhumij venerate Marang Buru (the Great Mountain); the Oraon and Kharia call the same god Barnda, the Savara and Korku Dongar deo (Hill-god). This mountain god is mainly a vegetation and rain god. (the dark moon?) He is inferior to the High-god and sun-god.

Each village has its village god, represented in a stone slab put up in a grove or under a tree. This deity is worshipped mainly after the harvest through public exorcism, much feasting and excessive drinking; sexual licence is also occasionally practised on his feast.

These tribes worship also female deities; prominent among them is the Earth-mother. Among the Munda, Ho and Bhumij she is called Chando Omol (the moon, the wife of the sun-god). The Oraon venerate her under the name Chala

Pachho, the Old Lady; she is a village goddess. The Gond and Baiga call her Dharti mata or Prithvi mata.

Their pantheon includes also house and family gods. It is believed that the spirits of the deceased relatives take their abode in the house in which they formerly lived (*ading*). They are occasionally venerated and offerings are addressed to them. Many of these tribes practise a double burial. The second burial takes place in the ancestral village. They erect stone or wooden monuments to their deceased relatives in the ancestral village. They perform also protective rites against the return of the spirits.

The sacrificial victims are mainly animals, cattle, goat, fowl and pig. Human sacrifices are said to take place occasionally. The Munda call them *ondoka*. The victim is killed in the jungle, only a finger and the blood is taken and buried under prayers in the *ading*. Human sacrifices are supposed to increase fertility in house, stable and field.

The Central Indian tribes make also offerings of liquor, and of morsels of food to the ancestors. They burn refined butter and incense in offerings.

Many of these tribes have totemism. Their totems are animals and plants. Generally they do not venerate their totems, but they observe the totem taboos of not killing, not eating and not touching them. They also observe totem exogamy. Only the Oraon erect wooden totem posts and make occasional offerings in front of them. The Gond tiger clan worships the tiger, on the occasion of a wedding.

(*c*) *Magic and Animism*. The Central Indian tribes believe that each person has several souls: the name, shade, life spirit (*jiv*) and breath (*atma*). They also believe in a rebirth of some of these souls, either in the same family or outside. Spirits not reborn or not laid to rest by appropriate rites become dangerous to the survivors. They cause sickness, misfortune and death.

The tribes also believe in the existence of many evil spirits who have never been human beings. They too must be appeased. To find them out and to discover the nature of offerings for their appeasement, is the task of diviners, soothsayers, exorcists and magicians who are very numerous in the tribal villages of Central India.

The aboriginals of Central India are also firm believers in the efficacy of witchcraft and magic. Black magic can only be counteracted by white magic. Witches are mostly women. When found out, they are often killed.

3. *The Religion of the Assam Tribes*

(*a*) *The Supreme Being*. Among the tribes of Assam the Supreme Being is generally of little importance in cult and daily life. More in the forefront are the lower deities and spirits who are near and always demanding sacrifices. But the Supreme God is distant and too benevolent to harm anybody. Still, the tribes entertain a strong belief in the existence of a Supreme Being; His supremacy over the other gods and beings in the world is undeniable.

Thus the Ao Naga call the Supreme Being Lungkijingba (deity of the stone house). They believe that he lives high up in the sky; therefore they call him also "Spirit of the Air Room." He sits on his stone house like on a throne. He divides the fates of human beings in the form of leaves. But he does little more. Only occasionally does he command the other deities to punish some men or to leave others in peace.

The Ao Naga perform no official sacrifice in his honour, except occasionally through a shaman. Sometimes he is also called "Creator" (*tiaba*), and considered responsible for the creation of man; but the opinions about this function of God are vague.

Though Lungkijingba is now the High-god of the Ao Naga, it is probable that he is a former High-god of the Konyak Naga. For the Ao Naga have still another High-god who fits better into their cultural life.

This other god is called Lichaba—"Creator of the World" or, literally, "He who walks over the earth." The Ao Naga believe that Lichaba created the earth and flattened the Brahmaputra valley. He is the acknowledged lord of the world, master over rain and storm. He prevents earthslides, and can command famines and epidemics. In old times he visited the Ao villages; now he only appears to them in dreams.

This High-god receives rich offerings which are presented by village priests. Mostly the meat of pigs and of chickens is offered. The sacrificial feasts take place at the time of the ripening of the field fruits.

The Lhota Naga seem to have no clear idea about the existence of a High-god or creator.

The Sema Naga, on the other hand, have a definite idea of a High-god whom they call Alhou (creator). His attributes are omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence. His full name is Timilhour (creator of men). But he interfers little with the affairs of mortals, though he distributes good and evil, wealth and poverty among men. Since he is benevolent and does not harm any man, the Sema care little about his worship.

Alhou's habitation is the sky, or the whole space between heaven and earth. He shares his habitation with the heavenly spirits Kungumi.

The Rengma Naga call their High-god Songinyu. His voice is the thunder. He has power over the heavenly bodies.

The Angami Naga call their Supreme God Kepenopfü (birth-spirit). He is sometimes addressed as the creator, but more as the creator of living things than the creator of the universe. It is not clear whether he is a male or female; he appears at times as the first man and guardian of the kingdom of the dead; at other times as the primeval mother of men, and as the wife of a being with moon-mythological features.

Kepenopfü dwells in heaven, to which place go also the good souls. He throws from heaven the thunderbolt—found on earth as stone axes.

This High-god is a strange combination of a sky-god and a mother-goddess. About the cult of this deity little is known. He is probably an otiose deity. He has some moral significance, because only the souls of the good are allowed to stay in heaven.

The Naga of Manipur have a common belief that the world was created by a deity which causes also earthquakes. But beyond this little more is known about their religion.

The Kabui believe in a supreme, benevolent deity, the creator of all things. Man, however, was created by another deity, though on the command of the Supreme God.

The Tangkhul believe that the Supreme God is the judge of the evil-doers. He is addressed in prayer in times of need and illness. Man was created by the Supreme God's son.

All Lushei-Kuki tribes venerate a sky-god Pathian or Pathan, which means "father." He is the creator of all things, benevolent, all-powerful; he lives in heaven and has little contact with human beings. But he accepts the sacrifice of pigs and chickens on certain agrarian feasts.

The Thado attribute to Pathen, their creator deity, the power of controlling the evil spirits. Most of their sacrifices are addressed to him. Pathen is master over the rain; when angry with a man he kills him by lightning. He reminds the Thado of his existence by thunder.

The Lakher or Mara call their Supreme God Khazangpa. He resides in heaven. He is the creator and master of the world and he has full power over men whom he treats according to their merits. Khazangpa means "father of all things," i.e. of life. His second name is Pachhapa, "the old man" or "the source," i.e. of life. He possesses strong anthropomorphic features, for in their opinion he has a wife and children and takes nourishment.

The most important sacrifices of the Lakher are addressed to him; in a song the officiating priest asks for health, wealth, rich crops and success in hunting.

Other Chin tribes, like the Haka and southern Chin, believe in a High-god living in heaven. They call him Kozin. The Siyin and all northern Chin tribes do not seem to believe in a Supreme God. But more investigations about their religious beliefs will be necessary to be sure of it.

The religious conceptions of the Kachin tribes reveal a strange incongruence: Karai Kasang, their supreme God, appears late in the myth about the world's origin and plays no important part in it. But nobody doubts that he is the maker and master of the world. His other names are "all-knowing," "the one who is above the clouds," "the one supreme." Karai Kasang cannot age or die, he has neither wife nor children. Without his permission no evil spirit can harm a human being. In case of misfortune individuals and whole villages address him in prayer when the spirits prove powerless.

But sacrifices in his honour are rare and never of a bloody nature. Offerings of rice, eggs and beer are made; occasionally chickens and buffaloes are let loose in his honour.

Karai Kasang is probably the god of the ruling class which immigrated from the North (Inner Asia) and subjugated an earlier people. Karai Kasang recreates, perfects and beautifies a world created by a mother-goddess.

All Bodo tribes believe in a creator god who is worshipped with a more or less elaborate cult. The Kachari call their Supreme God Alow. This is probably Alhou of the Sema Naga. The Garo call their creator god Tatara-Rabuga, the Rabha call him Ma-Bai. The Khasi have a Supreme God U Blei Nongthaw (creator). This deity is, however, often conceived in female form. Another informer calls the Supreme God U Pyrthat whose sword is lightning.

About the religion of the North-Eastern Frontier tribes little is known. It is only known that the Tangsa call their Supreme Being Sikia. From him emerged a man and a woman who populated the whole world. Sikia is an otiose deity. No worship is paid to him nor does he desire any. He never does harm to anybody.

The Dafla venerate a female Supreme Being, called Ane Duini, the Sun-mother, the good, the benevolent. Nothing in this world can be obtained without her will. Duini makes the crops grow and fills the granaries. She gives children and keeps them well. She bestows animals and wealth on men and determines their fate. However, ordinarily no veneration is paid to Duini, except that a *mithun* (*bos frondalis*) is sacrificed in her honour. But Duini's name is praised on all important occasions, such as weddings and funeral feasts.

(*b*) *The Minor Deities*. In addition to the Supreme God the Assamese tribes believe in the existence of a host of minor deities, of demons and furies whom they fear greatly and whom they are anxious to appease by prayer and sacrifice.

Thus the Lhota Naga believe in a great number of heavenly spirits (*potse*) who live in a world beyond this earth. But beyond the heavenly realm there is another, higher one, and beyond that still another, highest world. Only the *potso* o the second world have contact with the human beings, appear to them and permit shamans to hear them. They must be venerated by prayer and sacrifice.

The Sema Naga believe also in heavenly spirits whom they call Kungumi. They are similar to the *potso* of the Lhota.

They also believe in spirits of the earth—*Teghami*. The most prominent among these is Litsaba or Kichimiya, the spirit of fertility who is responsible for a good harvest. But he demands in return rich offerings, or else he comes as a whirlwind and does much damage to the field fruits. He is probably identical with the Lichaba of the Ao Naga.

The Rengma Naga believe likewise in the existence of heavenly spirits.

The Tangs believe in many malicious spirits who must be propitiated by offerings and sacrifices because they are quick to take offence and may cause great harm to human beings.

The Dafla have a large variety of spirits who have to be propitiated by sacrifices and offerings on many occasions, or else they cause illness or misfortune.

(*c*) *Eschatology*. The realm of the dead is generally located in the nether-world. But the belief is not absent among some tribes that at least some of the deceased may reach heaven.

Thus the Ao Naga believe that the dead go to heaven, though others say that their residence is in the nether-world; the entrance is through the Wokha mountain.

The Sema Naga say that Wokha is the last station before entering the nether-world. This nether-world is either in heaven or under the earth. Some Sema believe that good people go towards the East, the evil ones towards the West (the setting sun).

The Rengma Naga hold that the nether-world consists of six identical worlds, one on top of the other.

The Angami Naga claim that only those who have celebrated certain merit feasts and after that have eaten no impure meat, go to the Supreme God in heaven, while the others go to the nether-world where they pass through seven further existences; first as butterflies, then as other insects, after the seventh follows complete annihilation.

A belief in transformation into insects is found among almost all Naga tribes, the Lushai, Garo and Khasi; but such beliefs are found also beyond Assam, in South-East and East Asia, in Oceania and even in ancient Europe.

The Tangkhul place the realm of the dead in heaven, which is dominated by a god who judges the newly arriving dead according to their merits.

The Kabui believe that the dead dwell under the earth.

The Lushei, Kuki and Lakher believe in a land of the blessed and a land of the dead; the great majority of the dead go to the latter place.

The belief is general that the deceased have to overcome certain obstacles on their way to the other world. It is also believed that the surviving relatives and friends can help them to overcome these obstacles.

Thus the Ao Naga place a spear in the grave. With it the dead must hit a tree in front of the house of the king of the dead; only honest people can pass the test. The king of the dead invites those into his house and later sends them to the village of the dead. Thieves miss the tree; they go by a side path to the village of the dead. Life there is similar to life on earth, but without sexual intercourse. After a while the deceased die a second time and go to a dim place where they slowly fade away.

The Lhota Naga believe that a spirit guards the path to the realm of the dead; he tries to catch the newly arriving dead and to kill them.

The Angami claim that the path to the realm of the Supreme God is guarded by a spirit with whom the dead souls have to fight. If conquered they are for ever excluded from heaven and must roam about between heaven and earth. This spirit is often identified with the ancestors of the human race and as the mythical husband of the supreme deity. He has lunar-mythological features—a long beard, he hides during the day, etc.

The Lushei state that the first man shoots at the dead. Whomever he hits cannot enter the resting place of the dead. But he is unable to hit those who have been successful in killing a man and in celebrating merit feasts; nor those who have enjoyed three virgins or seven women.

The Garo believe also that a demon guards the entrance to the realm of the dead. The dead souls anxious to gain entrance into the nether-world must bribe him with brass rings and have to pretend that they had been married to a thousand women (to prove their erotic prowess).

The Tangsa believe that in death the soul takes the shape of a kite and flies to a place somewhere in the western sky. Persons who die an unnatural death, are turned into evil spirits.

In Dafla eschatology, the dead become beings of a higher order and live in a land of plenty. It lies below this world. Ormu, the nether-world, is much like the present world, but everything is on a larger scale. The way to the nether-world is difficult. A guardian of the nether-world judges all souls. Deeds of valour and enterprise find his approval, and a man who has killed many enemies, married many wives and acquired many slaves and cattle is received with honour, while the meek and humble are dismissed curtly. The souls of the dead may die once more.

4. *The Religion of the Lower Hindu Castes*

Little doubt exists that the religion of the lower Hindu castes contains many primitive elements. Under a thin veneer of Hindu religious beliefs and practices, many elements can be discovered which are also common among the more or less primitive cultivators.

(*a*) *The High-god.* All lower Hindu castes believe in a personal Supreme Being whom they address by various names—Bhagwan, Parmeshwar, Ishwar, Parmatma, Khuda, etc.

But this High-god is a *deus otiosus* who does not concern himself much with human affairs. No acts of worship are performed in his honour though he is invoked fairly frequently in daily life.

It is not clear whether this belief in a High-god is original, or due to the various Bhakti cults of Hinduism, or—at least in the north of India—due to Mohammedan influence. It may also be that the various incarnations (*avatar*) of Vishnu (Rama, Krishna, etc.) have merged in the concept of a Supreme God.

(*b*) *The Minor Deities.* Religious practice is more concentrated on the many Hindu gods, on Vishnu in his incarnations of Rama and Krishna, and on Shiva (Mahadeo); also Ganesh-Ganpati, Lakshmi, Hanuman, and a host of others are worshipped.

To another type of deities belong the Earth-Mother (Dharti mata or Prithvi mata) and the goddesses of disease like Kali (plague), Mari mata (cholera) and Sitala mata (small-pox) and the "Seven Sisters" for less severe epidemics.

The worship of the Hindu gods is performed according to Hindu ritual, either daily or only on certain seasonally recurring feast days. The sun god Narayan deo may be worshipped daily at sun rise; Agni, the fire god, at weddings; Ganesh at the beginning of any important enterprise; Hanuman on many occasions; Lakshmi on Diwali, when also the ancestors are remembered and the animals and implements venerated by which man earns his livelihood; Nagpanchmi is celebrated in honour of the snake-god; Janmasthami is the birth-day of God Krishna; Dasehra is celebrated in honour of Durga; Gana Gaur is a fertility feast in which Parvati, the wife of Shiva, is invoked; and Nav Ratri is the feast of Kali, especially invoked by magicians.

The sacrifices in honour of the Hindu gods are performed mainly by the head of the family if such a sacrifice is intended for the benefit of the family; by the official village priest (Brahmin, or caste priest), if the sacrifice is for the benefit of the village community or caste group. Sacrifices in honour of the Earth-Mother and of the disease deities are often performed by magicians and are usually animal sacrifices with much spilling of blood.

(*c*) *The Crises of Life.* The religious ceremonies performed on the important crises of life, birth, weddings, sickness and death, are much intermingled with magic.

Pregnancy and birth are particularly surrounded by superstitious practices to ensure fertility and to ward off the evil influence of malignant spirits. Magic practices like watering a pipal tree, feeding ants, swallowing a piece of cloth dipped into or soiled by the menstrual or birth blood of a mother, are frequent. Others make pilgrimages to temples, pray and take vows, to ensure fertility. In pregnancy a woman has to observe certain taboos; and she makes offerings and promises more gifts after a safe delivery.

In birth there is pollution and consequently seclusion. Magic is employed to secure a safe delivery, to ward off evil spirits. The afterbirth is carefully hidden or burned. Death in pregnancy or childbirth is believed to turn a woman into a dangerous demon (*churel*). Various rites are performed when the child survives; when it is given a name; at its first hair-cut; when its fate is determined by the goddess Shasti. No initiation ceremonies are performed for boys and girls; but a girl's first menstruation is observed with certain taboos and purification ceremonies.

A wedding is celebrated with a rich and complex ritual full of symbolic meanings; with a few sacrifices, to Agni, the god of the hearth fire; to the clan gods or house gods (only by a few castes).

In sickness few religious ceremonies are performed, but magic is indispensable and manifold. Divination is necessary to determine the cause of sickness and the right procedure for a cure; evil spirits are exorcized; the offended deity must be appeased by appropriate sacrifices or by penance; vows are taken and various promises are made.

Also at death religion is of less importance while magic rites are most prominent: various curious rites are performed to speed the departing soul on its way to the other world; to prevent its return to its former home and to harm its surviving relatives; prayers (to Rama or Hari) are recited only during the funeral procession. The mourners and bier carriers feel polluted, also the grave diggers, etc. and certain rites are performed for their purification.

The funeral feasts on the third and tenth days after death, or later, are celebrated to take off pollution from the surviving relatives and to sever still existing links with the deceased, whose soul is finally laid to rest. Offerings are made on this occasion to all the ancestors.

Ancestor worship is performed also on other occasions; whenever liquor is consumed, a few drops are spilled on the ground for the ancestors; offerings are made to the ancestors at weddings, on funeral feasts and on Diwali.

(*d*) *Superstition and Magic.* The lower Hindu castes are saturated with animism. Spirits of every possible type are believed to be housed in inanimate objects like stones, quartz crystals, in water, rocks, hills and mountains; in trees and plants; in animals and human beings.

All the lower Hindu castes believe in omens and protect themselves against them by changing their course of action, or by charms.

They also firmly believe in the existence and potency of good and evil spirits. Of the latter they have a great number of different type: A *bhut* is a person who died in a violent manner; a *churel* is a woman who died in pregnancy or childbirth; a *gayal* or *ut* is a person whose funeral ceremonies were omitted; a *pret* or *paret* is a person who died deformed or as a cripple, a still-born foetus; a *pisach* is a person who died full of vice; a *masan* is the spirit of the graveyard, which causes children to wane away and die; a *rakshas* is an ogre or giant living in trees, wells or ponds; a *pheru* is the whirl-wind; other evil spirits are called *deo*, *bir* or *deno*; Mohammedan demons are called *jinn*, *ifrit* or *marid*. All these spirits and demons demand food offerings, preferably bloody sacrifices.

It is believed that a person can get control of such superhuman spirits by magic rites. This control enables a person to make use of the spirits' or demons' superhuman powers either for one's own or another person's benefit (white magic), or to harm others (black magic). The belief in witchcraft, the evil eye, etc. is very common and irradicable.

(*e*) *Reform Movements.* In the past various attempts were made to reform the religion of the lower Hindu castes and to suppress the superstitions and magic rites which have crept in and replaced true religiosity. But after some initial success most of these reform movements collapsed. Not one had a permanent success. Superstition and magic proved stronger.

One such reform is the Satnami. Its founder was Jagjiwa Das, a landlord (Thakur) in a village near Lucknow. Ghasi Das made the movement popular among the low castes. It centres in sun worship, as the sun in believed to be the representative of the deity. Theoretically, the Satnamis are opposed to idol worship. But most of them have now again returned to a low form of Hinduism and recognize the whole Hindu pantheon. Though theoretically opposed to caste distinction, in practice they observe caste quite rigorously.

Another reform movement is the Kabir Panth. It is a cult of *bhakti* (devotion to God); it consists essentially in the love of a personal God. The founder of the movement is Ramananda (from South India, a disciple of Ramanuja, the apostle of Vaishnavism in North India, preaching Vishnu under the name of Rama). Ramananda's greatest disciple was Kabir, a Mohammedan weaver, who died at Maghar, near Gorakhpur. He taught belief in one God (Ram). He renounced polytheism and preached a high standard of morality. His followers are now grouped in the Kabir Panth. But the Panth has now more or less returned to Hinduism.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF HINDUISM

1. *The Aryan Element in Hinduism*

IT is strange that most studies on Hinduism begin with the Vedic period. It seems that Indologists believe that the Vedic Aryans and their culture had their cradle in India. But it is certain that the Vedic Indians reached the Indian subcontinent only between 1500 and 1200 B.C. as immigrants and that already before their arrival in India they had achieved a fairly high standard of culture with definite social and religious values. It appears that the Vedic Aryans had formerly been nomadic animal breeders and as such had developed or adopted the social organization and mental outlook of the Asiatic animal breeders. While during their wanderings in the Middle East (Iran), prior to their invasion of India, the Vedic Aryans had adopted also a number of cultural traits typical for the (largely agrarian) city cultures of the Middle East, their religion followed on the whole the pattern of that of Asiatic pastoral nomads.

Thus the Vedic gods are mainly nature gods, strongly anthropomorphous. Others are emanations of a more comprehensive divinity; and a host of demons are naturally not lacking.

The nature gods are Dyaus Pitar (Father Sky), Surya (Sun), Usha (Dawn), Vayu (Wind), Prithvi (Earth), Parjanya (Rain), Agni (Fire), etc. They also believed in war gods, like Indra (thunder god), the demon killer, a heavy drinker; like the Maruts, storm spirits, the sons of Rudra, the destroyer, an awe-inspiring god. His later name is Shiva, the "mild one."

We also find in the pantheon of the Vedic Aryans gods of the agriculturists and pastoralists, like the Ashvins or Nasatyas, the twin sons of Dyaus Pitar. They help ship-wrecked sailors, restore legs to the maimed, and provide husbands for maidens.

Then there is Pusan, the god of plenty, the guardian of the roads, of herdsmen and stray cattle. Vishnu, probably a sun god, who measures the universe in three steps (sun-rise, noon, sun-set), becomes later Shiva's rival in popularity.

The Vedic Aryans have also lower deities and goddesses like Vach (Speech), Sarasvati (a river goddess, the goddess of learning and poetry). They believe in nymphs (Apsaras), genii of clouds and water (Gandharvas) and the divine artisans Ribhus, also in protective genii and others. Yama, with Yami the progenitor of the human race, is the god of death.

These gods of the Vedic Aryans have generally no ethical demands on their worshippers. On the contrary, the *devas*, as they are called, depend on human prayer and sacrifice which produce the *brahman*, the divine substance. They are worshipped through singing hymns and sacrificing animals; this and the oblation of the distilled juice of a plant *soma*, the divine liquor, give them divine powers. In return they bestow on their worshippers victory in war, wealth, cattle and progeny.

But the Vedic Aryans brought to India also another set of gods with an ethical significance. These are the Asuras. They are probably of Semitic origin. The Asuras possess *maya* (illusion?), and are independent of prayer and sacrifice by man. The greatest among them is Varuna, the guardian of the cosmic order (*rita*). He is a moon or water god, awe-inspiring and mysterious. Mitra, a friendly antithesis to Varuna, is the god of light, a sun god. Both gods belong to the Adityas, the eight sons of Aditi, a goddess.

The eschatology of the Vedic Aryans is strikingly vague and contradictory. No soul exists independent from the body; the deceased survives whole, or is transformed into the sun, the wind, into waters or plants. Death is a misfortune; true life is only on this earth. The abode of the dead is the dark domain of Yama; it is joyless. But other opinions are that the deceased join the assembly of the ancestors, where they enjoy a life similar to that which they have lived on earth.

The dead are not judged for the good or bad actions in life. Ethical concepts as *rita* (cosmic order), *shraddha* (faith), *vrata* (religious precept), *dharman* (divine law), etc. are more of a ritual significance. Virtue, in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans, consisted in the fulfilment of the ritualistic duties and in generosity to the priests (*dakshina*).

As this is the religion of the aristocrats among the Aryans, the lower forms of magic are of no great importance. But it is clear that not all classes of Aryan society were without magic practices. We have a whole collection of magic in the prescriptions of the Atharvaveda, as in the cult of the *devas*. Essential in magic is the *mantra* (invocation), but also fasts, dances, yoga exercises have magic significance. They produce inner force (*tapas*).

Vedic cosmology and cosmogony are equally vague and contradictory. The universe is generally conceived as having three spheres: the earth, swimming in the ocean, an intermediary space (*antariksa*), and heaven, with a stony vault, separating the visible world from the invisible one of the gods and ancestors. Very vague mythologies record the creation of the world. Various gods are named as creators or the creation is conceived as an emanation, a firmation or measuring (as an artisan). Or a solution of the problem is sought through philosophy.

Vedic philosophy sees the beginning of all times either in a creator Vishvakarman, Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati (god of all priests), in a golden germ (Hiranyagarbha), in time (kala), or in Purusha, the primeval man, who, a victim in a sacrifice, is divided into many parts out of which the world is formed. The Rigveda, the oldest human document of philosophic thinking, describes the creator by a negation of all attributes.

There is nothing in this early form of Vedic religion that is not also found in the religion of the advanced pastoralists, especially of those who had come into contact with the ancient city cultures of the Middle East.

A later phase of Vedic religion is Brahmanism. It is well possible that this is a development which took place on Indian soil, but within the orbit of Vedic Aryan culture. While in early Vedic times we find only three classes—the ruler, the warriors, and cultivators or pastoralists, we have now four;

the priests, the warriors, the cultivators and the artisans. Important is that the priests now take the highest rank. This had its consequences in the Late Vedic religion: the exact observance of the sacrificial rites is now of paramount importance. And only the priests (Brahmins) know how to perform them. The ritual is all-powerful; it forces the gods to grant what the priests ask for. Religion has turned into magic.

In this period a new god makes his appearance: Prajapati, "the lord of the creatures." He is an androgynous creator, combining the male and female elements in himself. The elements of the sacrifice (fire, implements, verses and melodies) become independent magic substances. Objects of the sacrifice are plants, animals, especially the horse, and even human beings. Magic conceptions smother true religious relations to the deity.

This leads to a pantheistic conception of the universe: the *Brahman* becomes the supreme principle which comprises everything, even the gods. The human individual (whose essence consists in breath—*prana*) is part of the supreme all-comprising principle: *brahman-atman*.

This again leads to the doctrine of magic equivalence. The ritual of the sacrifice has its correlation in the universe. This principle is also a further development of the analogous magic of the Atharvaveda.

The ethics of the Late Vedic period are equally determined by this magic outlook: good is who is ritually pure; bad is who neglects the sacrifice.

The eschatological ideas of this period are very vague. It is believed that man can die repeatedly if the effects of his ritual actions (*karman*) are exhausted. Rebirth on earth is only possible for Brahmins.

2. *The Religion of the Indus Valley Civilization*

When the Aryans invaded India, they found in the North of India a high civilization, which had developed in the Indus Valley. Its main centres were found at Mohenjo daro and Harappa. The remains of this civilization have been discovered only about forty years ago. It extended, as later excavations proved, as far as Bikaner, Delhi and Gujarat. In the latter area it survived longer than in the Indus Valley.

It is believed that at least partly the Aryans were responsible for the decline and final destruction of this culture. But the Aryans entered India in relatively small groups. They certainly were not able to exterminate the numerous population of the Indus Valley cities completely. The population was subjugated by the Aryans, and many of their cities destroyed. But later the Indus Valley people certainly reasserted themselves due to their superior standard of culture and influenced also the later stages of Vedic religion. It must have been probably at the time when the first Upanishads were being composed. For the whole outlook of Indian philosophy and theology changes from the time of the Upanishads and develops into the form of Hinduism which has survived up to modern times.

Unfortunately, the Indus Valley script has not yet been deciphered. Thus we know little about the mental outlook and the religion of the Indus Valley people. What we know has been gathered from the study of the pictorial and sculptural remains, especially of the seals found at the various sites.

According to these finds, the Indus Valley people must have had a cult of mother goddesses. Such a cult is not prominent in Vedic religion; but it is now very common in Hinduism, especially in the religion of the lower classes. In Harappa many terracotta statuettes of women were found. The women were naked or nearly naked, with elaborate head-dresses and ornaments. As these statuettes are very numerous, they must have been kept in all the houses. The figurines are crudely fashioned, and of poor material. Probably they were manufactured for the poor. The cult of the mother-goddess may have been a cult of the lower classes of the Indus Valley people.

Figurines of nude male gods have also been found, with coiled hair, in erect posture, hands and arms held parallel to the body, like the Jaina *kayotsarga*.

On three seals we find the figure of a horned god, sitting on a stool or on the ground, in the posture which the Indian sadhus prefer: legs drawn up to the body, the two heels touching. The god is nude, with bangles, necklaces and a peculiar headdress, a pair of horns, with a plant-like object between them. On the largest seal he is surrounded by an elephant, a tiger, a rhinoceros, and a buffalo, while two deer are beneath the stool on which he is sitting. He has a fierce expression on his face, with two protuberances on both sides. (Two other faces?) His phallus is prominent. He is obviously a fertility god. Marshall calls him Proto-Shiva or Pashupati—the "Lord of the Beasts."

This god may be compared with the royal shepherd in the Sumerian myth of Inanna. In the myth he feeds the sacred herds, protects them against wild animals. He himself is incarnated in plants and renews annually all life by his marriage with the mother-goddess. He dies annually with nature to revive with it in spring. It is obviously a mystery cult enacting the phases of nature.

It is not unlikely that Shiva, the popular god of Hinduism, is a later development of this "Lord of the Beasts."

Many traces of phallic worship are found in the Indus Valley culture. Many cone-shaped objects, similar to a *lingam*, the symbol of Shiva, and probably symbolizing the male generative organ, have been found in the Indus Valley cities. Also large ring-shaped stones similar to the *yoni* (female sexual organ) and symbols of the mother-goddess, have been found. The cult of the *lingam* and the *yoni* is still quite common in Hinduism.

The remains of the Indus Valley cities also bear traces of a bull cult. On the seals a bull is often depicted standing in front of a peculiar structure. It seems to be a basket with seedlings. Such seedlings of wheat or barley are annually sown in baskets and used in the worship of Parvati, the wife of Shiva. It is a fertility cult and performed to make women and fields fertile.

One seal bears the figure of a man grappling with two tigers. This may be a hero similar to Gilgamesh of the Mesopotamian mythology. The hero's face is rotund like that of the sun, with streaming hair. Other animals depicted on the seals are the buffalo, the goat, tiger, elephant and snakes. These animals figure probably in religious legends and myths. The same animals are held sacred by the Hindus and are still widely worshipped. They also play a prominent part in Indian mythology. It is perhaps remarkable that the cow is never depicted on the Indus Valley seals.

The *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) seems to have been held sacred already in those times. One seal shows a horned goddess in a *pipal* tree, worshipped by a horned human figure and watched by a human-headed goat and seven pig-tailed women.

The few indications which we have of the Indus Valley religion show that this religion did not at all die out with the destruction of the Indus Valley cities. This religion survives in Hinduism and is alive to the present day.

We know very little of the Indus Valley religion. But we have a much better knowledge of the Mesopotamian religions which appear closely related to that of the Indus Valley. Thus many traits of the ancient Mesopotamian religions found entrance into Hinduism via the Indus Valley religion. The fact that these religious traits appear at a late date in the sacred scriptures of Hinduism is no proof that these traits came into existence only then. They may have survived in obscurity among the subjugated peoples of the Indus Valley culture. When this population reasserted itself, these traits came into prominence and were accepted as orthodox beliefs and customs and incorporated into the sacred scriptures of Hinduism.

We have tried in Chapter V to give a short outline of the racial history of India and to show of what heterogeneous elements the present-day population of India consists. This present chapter is intended to show that even the main foundations of Hindu culture are importations from outside. India did not create her own culture alone out of her own resources and in isolation, but welcomed and received much inspiration from foreign cultures.

Hindu India has been able to assimilate these foreign elements and to make them part of her own culture. Hindu culture thus appears uniform, in spite of all diversity. Even in historical times many foreign elements were incorporated.

It is likely that even the latest and the most important influx of new ideas, in the garb of modern western civilization, will be assimilated and used as a valuable building-stone in the formation of a new national culture of India which is now in the making. If such a cultural fusion can be accomplished, India, due to her large population and strategic position, and also her ancient cultural past and the yet unused material and intellectual resources, may one day become one of the most powerful nations of the world.

EPILOGUE

THE picture of primitive man which emerges from the previous chapters proves that even the foodgatherer, with his most elementary and crude material culture, is a full-fledged man. He lacks nothing of the mental faculties and abilities which modern civilized man possesses. Though some of these faculties may still lie dormant and be undeveloped, they are not lacking. As a matter of fact, in his social organization and mental outlook the primitive foodgatherer stands nearer to us than the more advanced primitive cultures. What appears so "exotic," so entirely different and incomprehensible in the life and culture of the "primitives," is not found so much in the foodgathering stage of culture, but in the early stages of foodproducing culture. The foodgatherers have a family system and family laws which resemble ours to a large extent.

If our culture were shorn of its superfluous complexities and reduced to its simple basic forms, it would be not very dissimilar to that of the foodgatherers. The latter live in the loose joint family, while the natural family is their basic social unit. Husband and wife have fairly equal status, both contribute to the subsistence of the family. Men and women are free in their choice of marriage partners; they live in practical monogamy; they love their children and look after them well; they disapprove of divorce, of pre-marital sex relations and strongly condemn extra-marital sex relations. They have private and communal property, even a kind of copyright. Their relations with other kinship groups are reasonably intimate; they are not subject to a rigid and authoritarian clan or tribal system. Their political organization, though most elementary, is based on democratic principles, on law and order; and religion and morality are closely interrelated. They believe in a High-god, creator and lord of the universe, and if they have faith in deities and spirits, in magic and superstition, it is not so strong as to obscure their faith in and love for, the Supreme God and Father.

The foodgatherers' culture is simple and elementary, it is true, but on the other hand it is also free from the enormous extremes and excesses of the more advanced foodproducers. The social forms and traits of mental culture of the latter have developed in various forms and at a rate which upset the sane balance and integral harmony of the foodgatherers' culture. We would, therefore, be wrong if we accepted their cultural traits as the basis on which our modern culture should be built up. They are too one-sided and unbalanced and, as history clearly proves, they could not be preserved in modern culture.

The early anthropologists and sociologists arrived so often at absurd and untenable conclusions because they mistook these later deviations and digressions as the earliest and basic forms of human culture. They had an incorrect measure by which they distinguished later growths from basic forms. By the important distinction of primitive cultures into that of the foodgatherers and that of the primitive foodproducers we obtain a definite criterion which, if we apply it correctly, allows us to recognize the basic forms of earliest human culture. We are enabled to do so by the enormous increase of knowledge of the prehistoric cultures and their comparison with living primitive cultures.

If we are permitted to identify the living primitives in the foodgathering stage of culture with the early prehistoric races and to reconstruct, on the basis of the living primitives, the early and earliest prehistoric culture, our conclusion is that mankind at its very outset and earliest dawn of its existence did not essentially differ from modern man. Consequently, the "exotic" and extreme forms of human culture are nothing but intermediary and passing stages which later had to be discarded altogether or at least corrected and reduced to their normal stature. They are not models and ideals to which modern culture must be adapted.

The study of the origin of man and his culture has, therefore, been profitable in providing the proof that present-day social institutions and moral standards are sound and healthy; that they are basically the same as those that prevailed when mankind was young and that they will stand the wear and tear of the centuries yet to come. Mankind and human culture are subject to change and evolution, it is true, but this change and evolution is restricted and limited to unessentials. Not all human values are relative and exchangeable; some are absolute values which cannot be touched and modified or else human society will suffer therefrom and be reduced to sterility and decay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. General

ANSHEN, R.N., *The Family, Its Functions and Destiny*, 1949

APPADORAI, A., (ed.), *The Status of Women in South Asia*, 1954

ASHLEY-MONTAGU, M.F., *Introduction to Physical Anthropology*, 1951

BENEDICT, R., *Patterns of Culture*, 1943

BOAS, F., (ed.), *General Anthropology*, 1938

BOULE, M., *Les Hommes Fossiles* (ed. H.V. Vallois), 1952

BOYD, W.C., *Genetics and the Races of Man*, 1950; *Blood Groups*, 1954

BRIFFAULT, R., *The Mothers*, 1927

CLARK, W.E. LE GROS, *The Fossil Evidence for Human Evolution*, 1955; *History for the Primates*, 1954

DIXON, R.B., *The Racial History of Man*, 1922

DOBZHANSKY, Th., *Genetics and the Origin of Species*, 1957

DURKHEIM, E., *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 1915

EICKSTEDT, E.V., *Die Forschung am Menschen*, 1937

FORDE, D., *Habitat, Economy and Society*, 1934

FRIED, H., *Readings in Anthropology*, 2 vols., 1959

GINSBERG, M., WHEELER, C. and HOBHOUSE, L.T., *Material Culture and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples*, 1930

GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI, V., *First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia*, 1921

GATES, R., *Human Ancestry*, 1948

HERKOVITS, M.J., *Economic Anthropology*, 1952

HILL, O., *Primates—Comparative Anatomy and Taxonomy*, i-III, 1953

HUXLEY, J., *Evolution—The Modern Synthesis*, 1948; *Evolution in Action*, 1955

IYER, L.K.A., *Lectures on Ethnography*, 1925

IYER, L.A. KRISHNA, and RATNAM, L.K. BALA, *Anthropology in India*, 1961

KOENIGSWALD, G.H.R. von, *Neanderthal Centenary*, 1958

KROEBER, A.K., *The Nature of Culture*, 1952; *Anthropology*, 1948

LEVY-BRUHL, L., *Primitive Mentality*, 1923

LOWIE, R.H., *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 1947; *The Origin of the State*, 1927; *Primitive Society*, 1929; *Social Organisation*, 1950

MALINOWSKI, B., *Dynamics of Culture Change*, 1948; *Magic, Science and Religion*, 1951; *A Scientific Theory of Culture*, 1944

MARRET, R.R., *The Threshold of Religion*, 1909

MAYR, E., *Systematic and the Origin of Species*, 1948

MORGAN, L.H., *Ancient Society*, 1878

MOURANT, A.M., *Blood-Groups*, 1954

NAG, D.S., *Tribal Economy*, 1957

PENNIMAN, T.Y.K., *A Hundred Years of Anthropology*, 1944

RADIN, P., *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, 1957

RIVERS, W.H.R., *Kinship and Social Organisation*, 1914; *Social Organisation*, 1924

SAHNI, M.R., *Man in Evolution*, 1951
SCHMIDT, W., *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, 1932
SIMPSON, G.G., *The Major Features of Evolution*, 1953
TAYLOR, *Megalith Tombs and Other Ancient Remains*, 1941
THURNWALD, R., *Economics of Primitive Communities*, 1932
TYLOR, E.B., *Primitive Culture*, 1871
VALLOIS, H.V. and MORIUS, H.L., *Catalogue des Hommes Fossiles*, 1952
WESTERMARCK, E., *A Short History of Human Marriage*, 1891
WISSLER, C., *Man and Culture*, 1923
ZEUNER, F., *Dating the Past*, 1945

II. INDIA (*General*)

AIYAPPAN, A. (ed.), *Society in India*, 1956
BAINES, A., *Ethnography*, 1912
BROUGH, J., *The Early Brahminical System of Gotra and Pravara*, 1953
CROOKE, W.W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1926
DOVER, C., *Half-Castes*, 1937
DUBE, S.C., *Indian Village*, 1955
DUBOIS, E., *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 1959
DUTT, N.K., *Original Growth of Caste in India*, 1931
EHRENFELS, O.R., *Mother-Right in India*, 1941
ELWIN, V., *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, 1954; *A Philosophy for the NEFA*, 1959
FORSYTH, J., *The Highlands of Central India*, 1876
FUCHS, S., *The Children of Hari*, 1956
FURER-HAIMENDORF, C.von, *Notes on Stone-Age in India*, 1954
GHOSH, H., *The Original Inhabitants of the United Provinces*, 1935
GILBERT, W.A., *Peoples of India*, 1944
HUTTON, J.H., *Caste in India*, 1961
KANE, P.V., *History of Dharma-Shastra*, 1935
KAPADIA, K.M., *Hindu Kinship*, 1947
KARAKANDIKAR, S.V., *Hindu-Exogamy*, 1929
KARIM, A.K.V., *Changing Society in India and Pakistan*, 1959
KARVE, J., *Kinship Organisation in India*, 1953; *Hindu Society—An Interpretation*, 1961
KITTS, E.J., *A Compendium of the Castes and Tribes found in India*, 1885
MAJUMDAR, D.N. and KARVE, J., *Racial Problems in Asia*, 1948
MAJUMDAR, D.N., *A Tribe in Transition*, 1937; *The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes*, 1944; *Matrix of Indian Culture*, 1948; *The Affairs of a Tribe*, 1950; *Caste and Communication in an Indian Village*, 1958; *Races and Cultures of India*, 1961; *Himalayan Polyandry*, 1962
MAJUMDAR, RAYCHAUDHURI and DATTA, *An Advanced History of India*, Part I, 1960
MARRIOT, McKIM, (ed.), *Village India*, 1955
MARSHALL, J., *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, 1931
MAYER, A.C., *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, 1960
RAPSON, E.I., *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, 1922

RISLEY, H.H., *The People of India*, 1915

SARKAR, S.S., *Aboriginal Races of India*, 1940

SLATER, G., *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, 1924

SRINIVAS, M.N., *India's Villages*, 1955

STEVENSON, S., *The Rites of the Twice-Born*, 1920

TERRA, H. De and PATERSON, T.T., *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, 1939

WHEELER, R.E.M., *The Indus Civilization*, 1953

III. INDIA (*Monographs*)

AIYAPPAN, A., *Report on Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of Madras.* 1948; *Anthropology of the Nayadis*, 1937

BHARGAVA, B.S., *Criminal Tribes*, 1949

BIDDULPH, I., *Tribes of the Hindu-Koosh*, 1880

BUCHANAN, F., *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 1870

CROOKE, W.W., *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, 1896

DALTON, E.T., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872

DATTA, N. and MAJUMDAR, *The Santals—A Study in Culture Change*, 1956

EHRENFELS, O.R., *The Kadar of Cochin*, 1952

ELWIN, V., *The Baiga*, 1934; *The Agaria*, 1942; *The Muria and their Ghotul*, 1947; *Bondo-Highlanders*, 1951

ELLIS, R.H., *A Short Account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy*, 1924

ENTHOVEN, R.E., *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 1920

FUCHS, S., *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Manda*, 1960

FURER-HAIMENDORF, C. von, *Tribal Hyderabad*, 1945; *The Naked Nagas o, Assam*, 1938; *The Chenchus*, 1943; *The Reddis*. 1945; *The Rajgonds of Adilabad*, 1948

GRIGSON, W.V., *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, 1938

GURDON, P.R.T., *The Khasis*, 1914

HODSON, T.C., *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911

HUTTON, J.H., *The Sema Nagas*, 1921

IYER, L.K.A., *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, 1909; *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, 1928; *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*, 1937

MILLS, J.P., *The Ao Nagas*, 1926; *The Lhota Nagas*, 1917

NORTHEY, W.B., and MORRIS, C.J., *The Gurkhas*, 1928

OLIVIER, G., *Anthroplogie des Tamuls du Sud de l'Inde* 1959

RICHTER, E., *Manual of Coorg*, 1870

RISLEY, H.H., *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. 1891

RIVERS, W.H.R., *The Todas*, 1924

ROY, S.C., *The Mundas and their Country*, 1912; *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, 1915; *The Birhors*, 1925; *The Hill Bhumiyas*, 1935; *The Kharias*, 1937

RUSSEL, R.V., and HIRALAL, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces India*, 1900

SANKALIA, H.D., *Investigations into Prehistoric Archæology of Gujarat*, 1946

SHAKESPEAR, J., *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, 1912

SRINIVAS, M.N., *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, 1952

THURSTON, E., *Ethnographic Notes on Southern India*, 1906

INDEX

ABAKAN TATARS, 248
Abor, 133, 149
Abstract thinking, 61f
Ading, 256
Aditi, 269
Adityas, 269
Adultery, 99, 105, 179, 199
Advanced hunters, 81, 101
Aeta, 77, 97
Afalu-Bu-Rummel, 36
Afanasjevo, 88
Afghan tribes, 185
African Negroes, 43
African Pygmies, 43, 64, 97, 177, 206f
Africanthropus Njarajensis, 33, 37
Agarias, 55
Agastya, 252
Age grades, 147f, 172
Agglutinative languages, 69
Agnatic relations, 140
Agni, 139, 264f, 268
Agriculture, 83f, 162
Agrofacts, 4
Ahirs, 55, 132
Ahoms, 58
Ainu, 44, 77, 118, 168, 177, 180, 215
Albanians, 113, 222, 223, 242
Alexander the Great, 10
Algonquians, 69, 118, 124, 171, 177, 187, 190, 192, 195, 197, 216, 222, 241
Alhou, 260
Allahabad, 48
Alow, 260
Alpine race, 45
Altai tribes, 112, 113, 125, 175, 202
Altamira, 62
Althusius, 165
Altruism, 193f
America, 216, 238
Amerindian group, 46
Amindivi Islands, 134
Amitate, 117
Ancestors, 177, 241, 243, 247, 251, 252, 254, 256, 262, 265
Andamanese, 46, 53, 65, 69, 77, 79, 80, 97, 98, 145, 166, 169, 177, 179, 180, 183, 184, 187, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 221, 222, 223
Ane Duini, 260
Angami Naga, 258, 261, 262
Anima mundi, 232
Animal breeding, 5, 87f
Animal cult, 246
Animal language, 67
Animal pantomime, 206
Animal spirits, 241
Animism, 220, 223, 230, 244, 249, 266
Aniota, 154
Antariksa, 270
Anthropology, 1, 2, 9
Anthropus, 22f, 28f
Anthropometry, 2
Ao Naga, 149, 257, 262
Apsaras, 269
Arabs, 52, 109, 113, 156
Aranda, 207
Arapaho, 147, 197, 222
Arapesh, 118
Archajc Caucasoid group, 44
Archanthropines, 22
Archeology, 1, 7f
Archetypes, 229
Arihu, 149
Aristocrats, 175
Aristotle, 94
Armenians, 113, 45
Arowak, 118
Arsha, 139
Art, 204f
Artifacts, 4
Aruak, 107

Arunta, 234
Aryans, 51f, 156, 272
Ashanti, 107, 117, 122
Ashvins, 268
Asiatic pygmies, 43
Asmus, 37
Assam, 57f, 132f, 257
Asselar, 35
Assiniboin, 124, 148
Associations, 144
Asura, 139, 269
Asur, 254
Assyro-Babylonians, 112
Atharvan, 157
Atharvaveda, 270, 271
Athlit, 35, 61
Atlantanhropus mauretanicus, 29
Atma, 256
Atsina, 222
Aurignacian, 64, 212
Australians, 44, 166, 177, 183, 190, 192, 193, 197, 199, 206, 216, 221, 222, 234, 245
Australopithecines, 23, 25f, 27
Australopithecus africanus, 25f
Australopithecus prometheus, 27
Austro-Asiatic languages, 56
Avatar, 263
Avunculate, 117
Ayaner, 251
Ayappan, 251
Aymara, 107
Aztecs, 244

Babali, 154
Babylon, 230, 245
Bachofen, J., 94, 153
Bachwa, 76
Badagas, 54, 128
Baigas, 55, 122, 130, 211, 256
Balahi, 121
Bali, 215
Bakongo, 65
Baluchistan, 50
Banolas, 32
Banjaras, 55
Bantu, 112, 146, 224
Bara-deo, 254
Barnda, 255
Basques, 118
Bastin, H., 5
Basuto, 107
Batak, 215
Batwa, 76, 78, 180, 187
Bear sacrifice, 242
Bebel, A., 186
Bedouins, 77, 174, 185
Bella Coola, 222
Belli, 154
Bengalis, 58
Beni Amer, 112
Benin, 213
Berber, 107, 110, 111
Bero, 255
Beth, K., 235
Bhadrakali, 252
Bhagwan, 252, 253, 254, 263
Bhagavati, 253
Bhainas, 55
Bhakti, 263, 267
Bhils, 54, 130
Bhilalas, 55, 132
Bhois, 55
Bhuiyas, 55, 149
Bhuiya Mundas, 56
Bhumias, 54
Bhunjias, 55
Bhut, 266
Bidney, 4
Bilateral kinship, 115
Binjhwars, 55
Biology, 2
Bir, 266
Biradari, 162
Birhor, 77, 97, 149, 254
Birth, 264f
Black, 28
Blackfoot, 222
Blood, 245, 248
Blood group, 2
Blood revenge, 185

Blow-gun, 86
Bodo, 57, 58, 260
Bogo, 112
Bohindu, 105
Boltmann, R., 3
Bonda Gadaba, 130
Bone needles, 64
Bontoc, 105
Bororo, 84, 103, 108, 124, 151, 199
Borneo, 61
Boscop, 36
Bovandik, 116
Brahma, 139, 236, 269, 271
Brahman-atman, 271
Brahmanism, 270
Brahmanaspati, 270
Brahmin, 161, 271
Brain capacity, 18f, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35
Bread-fruit tree, 84
Breath, 248
Bride-price, 104, 109, 111, 117, 128, 130, 133
Briffault, R., 153
Brihaspati, 270
Broca, Fr., 66
Broken Hill, 32
Broom, 25
Brosses, Ch. de, 232
Brunn, 34
Bucher, K., 191
Buffalo, 82
Buffalo-dancer, 242
Buganda, 175
Bulck, van, 69
Bull cult, 273
Bull-roarer, 62, 101, 145, 206, 216, 241
Burha-deo, 254
Burial, 223, 247, 254, 256
Buriat, 125, 174, 175, 202
Buru, 118
Bush-god, 101
Bushmen, 26, 36, 43, 76, 79, 81, 97, 98, 99, 190, 192, 195, 196, 211, 212, 221, 224, 238, 249
Bush-spirits, 241
CALIFORNIANS, 192f, 222
Camel, 89f, 248
Canarese, 56
Cannibalism, 61, 154
Cape Flats, 36
Capitalism, 201
Carbon, 7f
Caribou Eskimos, 77, 221
Caribs, 124
Caste, 156f; origin, 156f; definition, 160; principles, 161; effects, 162, 163, 266
Cattle, 88
Caucasoid, 44, 45f
Cave bear, 81
Cave paintings, 62
Ceremonies, 218
Central Mongoloid group, 46f
Ceylon, 54
Chakmas, 58
Chakopo Indians, 151
Chala Pachho, 255
Chamar Munda, 56
Chando Omol, 255
Chancelade, 35
Chauvery, 48
Cheenganni Vedan, 127
Cheyenne, 222
Chelles-Acheul, 48
Chenchu, 54, 77, 84, 128, 187, 189, 192, 198, 251
Cheru Vedan, 127
Chibcha, 107
Chief, 168, 170, 201
Child marriage, 142
Children, 100, 106, 113, 132
Chiang-Pa, 57
Chin, 58, 259
Chinese, 112, 213, 215, 216, 236
Chou-ku-tien, 28, 61, 63
Chukchee, 168, 203, 215
Churel, 265, 266
Churinga, 216
Cire-perdue, 213
Circumsicion, 106, 147f
Clan, 116, 125

Clan exogamy, 171
Clan totemism, 122
Class, 147
Classificatory kinship system, 111
Clothing, 82
Club houses, 147, 150f
Coeur D'Alene, 169
Combe Capelle, 35
Communism, 199
Complex, 7
Comte, A., 94, 186, 232
Confession of sins, 250
Congo Pygmies, 169
Cooper, J.M., 219
Copyright, 196
Corsicans, 118
Couvade, 118
Creator, 188, 192, 193, 239, 250, 257, 270
Cree, 187, 190, 196, 222
Cremation, 223
Criminal tribes, 84
Cro-Magnon, 34
Cross-cousin marriage, 124, 129, 135
Crow, 148
Culture, 4f, 72
Culture-circles, 74
Culture hero, 177, 178

Dafla, 133, 260, 261, 263
Daiva, 139
Dakota, 116, 222
Dakshina, 270
Danakil, 113
Dance, 204
Daphne, 228
Dart, 25
Darwin, Ch., 11f, 95
Dasehra, 264
Dayak, 109, 116, 245
Death, 222, 244f, 261, 265, 269
Debrugeu, 36
Deccan, 48
Dendrochronology, 7
Deno, 266
Deo, 266
Devan, 252, 253
Devas, 269
Dhangarbassa, 149
Dhanwars, 55
Dharman, 270
Dharmashastras, 142
Dharmesh, 254
Dharti mata, 256, 264
Dhimars, 55
Dhobas, 55
Dhumkuria, 149
Dialectical Materialism, 2
Dichotomy, 144
Dinaric race, 45
Dinka, 92, 202, 250
Disease deities 264
Divorce, 98, 103, 105, 109, 112, 130, 131, 133, 135, 138, 139, 141, 142, 150
Diwali, 264
Dobzhansky, 37
Dog, 75, 87
Dohana, 228
Domestication of animals, 87
Dongar deo, 255
Donkey, 91
Double burial, 245
Double death, 262
Double morality, 112
Dowry, 111
Drachenloch, 61, 63
Drama, 204
Drennan, 36
Drosophila, 15
Drum, 205
Dual system, 124
Dubois, E., 28, 35
Dukduk, 153
Durga, 264
Durkheim, E., 233, 234, 235
Dwelling, 79, 82, 90
Dyaus Pitar, 227, 268
Dynamism, 234

Earth-Mother, 243f, 255, 264
East Baltic type, 45
Easter Island, 216
Education, 100, 107
Egbo, 154
Egyptians, 112
Ehringsdorf, 31, 38
Eickstedt, E.V., 50, 51, 52, 54
Elwin, V., 95
Embryology, 11
Endogamy, 130, 132
Engels, F., 186
Eocene, 22
Eskimo, 14, 82, 99, 118, 168, 183, 193, 195, 197, 199, 209, 215, 216
Eskimoid, 46
Eta, 156
Ethics, 231, 269
Ethnology, 3
Ethography, 3
Euhominidae, 18
Europe, 212
Europoid, 44
Evil spirits, 240, 249, 253, 256, 259, 266
Evolution, 11f, 178, 250, 279
Exogamy, 96, 102, 110, 118, 122, 130, 132, 142, 256
Experience, 5
Eyungun, 153
Ezhevas, 136

Family, 94f
Fan, 181
Father (as name of God), 239, 247, 259
Fertility-cults, 62, 209, 245, 256, 264, 273
Fetishism, 231, 232f
Fiji, 124
Fire, use of, 27, 29, 65f
Fire-saw, 87
Fischer, E., 51
Fish-Hook, 36
First Father, 223, 239f, 242
Flexional languages, 70
Fluorine test, 7
Folklore, 1, 8
Fontechavada, 34
Foodgatherers, 75f
Foodproducers, 80f, 101f
Forest Negro, 43
Frazer, J.G., 115, 233, 235
Freedom, 80f
Freud, S., 233
Freund, 37
Friction drum, 86
Fuhlrott, F.C., 32
Functionalism, 8
Furer-Haimendorf, 51

Gada, 174
Galla, 111, 112, 113, 147, 174, 178, 202, 249
Gana Gaur, 264
Gandharvas, 139, 269
Ganesh-Ganpati, 264
Gamble, 35
Garos, 57, 107, 136, 260, 262
Garrod, D., 35
Gayal, 266
Gens, 116
Germans, 112
Gerontocracy, 168
Gez, 98, 107, 222
Ghosts, 219
Gibraltar, 31, 61
Gift visits, 169, 195
Gigantopithecus blacki, 29
Gilgamesh, 273
Gilyak, 77, 215
Gitiora, 149
Goat, 85, 88, 121
God, 206, 219, 234
God-king, 246
Gonds, 55, 56, 121, 130, 132, 149, 211, 256

Good, R., 14
Gotra, 140, 142
Goundan, 138
Gray, J., 2
Gray Ware pottery, 51
Greeks, 52, 108, 245
Grihastha, 139
Grimaldi caves, 34
Grotius, H., 165
Guha, B.S., 50, 51, 52, 54
Gujarat, 49
Gumplowicz, L., 165
Gurkhas, 57
Gurungs, 57
Gusinde, M., 193

HAKA, 259
Halakwulup, 77, 224
Halbas, 55
Half-Hamites, 44
Hamites, 112, 113
Hamito-Negroid, 49
Hamito-Semites, 234
Hanuman, 264
Harappa, 50, 214, 271
Haram, 255
Hari, 265
Hartland, E.S., 235
Harvesting tribes, 83
Hateshtar, 157
Hauser, 35
Heaven, 246, 261
Hebrew, 112
Heine-Geldern, R., 56, 85, 215
Hell, 181, 246
Herder, G., 94
Herero, 249
Heroes, 247
Hevesy, W., 56
Hidatsa, 148
High-god, 178, 221, 238, 242, 246f, 249, 255, 263
Hill-gods, 252
Hill-Pantaram, 127, 129
Himyaritic tribes, 153
Hinduism, 221, 251, 263, 272
Hinduization, 132
Hindu family, 140
Hindu Marriage Act, 142
Hindu Succession Act, 136, 142
Hinin, 156
Hiranyagarbha, 270
Hittites, 88
Ho, 149
Hobbes, T., 119, 165
Hobhouse, 98, 178
Hoe, 86
Hoka, 222
Holocene, 46
Hominidae, 18
Hominoidae, 18
Homo Heidelbergensis, 29, 64
Homo Neanderthalensis, 32
Homo Palaestinensis, 33
Homo Rhodensis, 32
Homo Saldanhaensis, 32
Homo sapiens, 19, 23, 33f, 37
Homo Soloensis, 29
Hopefield, 32
Hopi, 107, 200
Hordes, 191
Horse, 88f, 248
Horticulture, 84
Hos, 55, 254
Hoshangabad, 48
Hottentot, 26, 43, 103, 223, 249
Huesing, G., 230
Huiti, 157
Human sacrifices, 256
Huna, 52
Hurzeler, J., 22
Hutu, 156
Huxley, J., 20
Hypergamy, 140, 161

IBERIAN, 118
Ibo, 185
Ife, 211
Ifrit, 266
Incest taboos, 96, 122, 182

Individualists, 186
Indo-European, 174, 234
Indra, 268
Indus Valley, 50, 134, 157, 271f
Infanticide, 100, 114
Ingiet, 153
Inheritance, 106, 114, 137, 138, 142, 197, 199
Initiation, 100, 103, 106, 107, 110, 144, 145, 147, 151, 161, 169, 209, 239, 241
Iron, use of, 86
Iroquois, 106, 107, 124, 154, 173, 216
Irula, 52, 77
Ishvaran, 252, 253, 263
Israelites, 174
Ituri Pygmies, 168, 177, 187, 190, 194

Jabrud, 37
Janmasthami, 264
Jarmo, 85
Jati, 140
Java, 215
Jeremias, A., 230
Jews, 52, 146
Jinn, 266
Jiv, 256
Joint family, 110, 124 ,140, 146, 161, 174, 187, 202
Joking relationship, 116
Joshua, 222
Jowa, 222
Juju, 154
Jung, C.G., 9, 229
Jupiter, 227
Jus primi occupantis, 190

Kabir Panth, 267
Kabui, 258, 262
Kacharis, 57, 260
Kachin, 259
Kadar, 52, 77, 98, 127, 129, 168, 192, 198, 251
Kaffirs, 51
Kai, 106, 150
Kainz, 67
Kala, 270
Kali, 252, 253, 264
Kalmuck, 111, 125, 146, 181
Kalinga Negritos, 181
Kamar, 55, 121
Kanadis, 90
Kanam, 34
Kani, 153
Kanikar, 127, 129, 149, 252
Kankanai, 104
Kanjera, 34
Kant, 165
Kanyadan, 139
Kappiliyan, 138
Karai Kasang, 259
Karagass, 248
Karanavan, 134
Karavali Pulaya, 128
Karen, 183
Karma, 271
Kar Nicobarese, 172
Karuppa, 253
Karuppaswami, 252
Katkari, 77, 190, 191, 192, 198, 206
Kava, 216
Kavu, 254
Kayasth, 161
Kayotsarga, 272
Kazakh, 111, 112, 113, 125, 146, 201
Kechua, 107
Kedung, 28
Keilor, 35
Keith, 36
Kelabit, 173
Kepenopfü, 258
Khalka Mongol, 125
Khandivli, 48
Khangar Mundas, 56
Kharia Mundas, 56
Kharwars, 54

Khasas, 109
Khasi, 57, 107, 109, 118, 136, 183, 201, 244
Khazangpa, 259
Khoisandis, 43
Khond, 56, 130, 244, 255
Khuda, 263
Kichimiya, 261
Kichuki, 149
Kikuyu, 105, 147, 152, 202, 245
Kindiga, 77, 98
King, J., 235
Kings, 175
Kinship group, 115, 122, 138, 140, 179, 184
Kiowa, 148
Kirghiz, 111, 146
Kirsse, 154
Kisan-Nagarias, 55
Kiwai, 105, 150, 173
Kloketen, 227
Knabenhaus, A., 165
Konigswald, R.v., 28, 29, 30
Koi, 130
Koli, 124
Kolid type, 55
Kols, 54
Konde, 107
Konkpat Mundas, 56
Konyak Naga, 149, 257
Korkus, 56, 121, 122, 255
Korwa, 77
Koryak, 61, 77, 196, 202, 215, 221
Kottamala Swami, 252
Kozin, 259
Krapina, 31, 38
Krause, 5
Krishna, 263
Krobo, 107
Kroeber, A.E., 1
Kromdraai, 27
Kshatriya, 161
Kubu, 77, 221
Kuhn, A., 227
Kuksu cult, 227
Kuki, 58, 259, 262
Kulin, 69, 77, 163, 168, 180, 189, 238
Kumyss, 248
Kungumi, 258, 261
Kurnai, 69, 77, 116, 168, 190, 222, 224, 238
Kurnool, 48
Kurumbas, 54, 77, 128
Kushans, 52
Kutiya Kondh, 214
Kwakiutl, 211, 216

LABOUR, DIVISION OF, 99
Laccadive islands, 134
La Chapelle, 32
Ladakhi, 57
La Ferrassie, 30
Lahoulis, 57
Lakher, 259, 262
Lakshmi, 264
Lalungs, 57
La Naulette, 32
Land, ownership of, 186, 200
Lang, A., 115, 228
Languet, H., 165
Lamas, 153
Lapps, 201, 215
La Quina, 30, 61
Lascaux, 62
Law, 177
Leakey, 35
Leibniz, 67
Le Moustier, 32
Lenape, 222
Lepchas, 57
Leveleye, E. de, 186
Levirate, 129, 140
Levy-Bruhl, 9, 235
Lhota Naga, 258, 260, 262
Lichaba, 257
Libby, W. F., 7
Limbus, 57
Lineage, 125
Lingam, 273
Linguistics, 1, 8

Linguet, N., 165
Linnaeus, C., 11
Lippert, J., 153, 232
Litsaba, 261
Loan, 196
Loango, 106
Locke, J., 67, 119, 165
Loeb, E.M., 153
Lord of the Beasts, 273
Lower Pleistocene, 64
Lowie, R.H., 115
Lubbock, J., 232, 233
Lungkijingba, 257
Lushei, 58, 259, 262

MA-BAI, 260
Madras, industry, 48, culture, 53
Magdalenian, 62, 64, 207, 212
Magic, 181, 219, 220, 223, 224, 233, 243, 245, 250, 254, 256, 264, 266, 270, 271
Mahabharat, 140
Mahadeo, 264
Mahili Mundas, 56
Maidu, 77, 145, 168, 189
Majumdar, D.N., 53
Makapansgat, 27
Mala-Arayan, 252
Malaialis, 138
Malavay, 251
Malpaharias, 54
Malapantaram, 77, 118, 251
Mala Pulaya, 127, 252
Malayans, 251
Malers, 56
Malid race, 55
Malinowski, B., 4, 117
Mama-Dhiombo, 153
Mammoth, 81
Mana, 236, 237
Man Coc, 116
Mandingo, 153f
Mangyan, 77
Manism, 220, 222, 230
Manitowi, 236
Mannan, 127, 149, 252
Mannhardt, W., 232
Man Pa Tong, 116
Mantra, 270
Mara, 259
Marang-Buru, 255
Marginal-peoples, 75, 221
Mari Mata, 264
Mariamma, 253
Marid, 266
Marind-anim, 150
Marett, R.R., 4
Marriage, 106, 111, 127f, 135
Marshall, 273
Marston, A.T., 33
Martin, G.H., 34
Marumakhatayam-Act, 136, 138
Maruts, 268
Marx, K., 186
Masan, 266
Masks, 153, 207
Masai, 92, 103, 112, 147, 156, 174, 202, 249
Materialists, 18f
Mauer, 29
Mau-Mau, 152
Max Mueller, 227
Maya, 269
Mayurbhanj, 48
McIver, 4
McLennan, 94, 96, 233
McNeish, R.S., 85
Meals, 192
Mechs, 57
Mechta-el-Arbi, 36
Mediterranean race, 45
Meenakshi Amma, 253
Meganthropus Palaeojavanicus, 30
Megaliths, 50, 86, 151
Melanesia, 44, 61, 215
Meli, 154
Memi, 149
Menang kabau, 109
Mendel, G., 15
Menomini, 222
Menstrual blood, 243

Mentifacts, 4
Meos, 55
Miaotse, 118
Microlithic culture, 49
Middle East, 214, 229, 268, 270
Middle Palaeolithic period, 80
Midewiwin Society, 148, 181
Mimic, 205
Miocene, 22
Miri, 58, 118
Minas, 55
Missing link, 39
Mithan, 214
Mithun, 133, 260
Mitra, 269
Mixe, 107
Mixtec, 107
Mog tribes, 58
Mohenjo-daro, 50, 214, 271
Mohammedans, 263
Moi, 105, 147
Mollison, 36
Moieties, 124
Money, 199
Mongols, 146, 174, 178, 181, 202, 247
Mongolian spot, 42
Mongoloid group, 46
Mon-Khmer, 56, 57
Monogamy, 95f, 128
Monosyllabic languages, 69
Monotheism, 220, 231, 249
Montagnais, 120, 170, 196
Montagu, A., 39
Montaigne, M. de, 15
Monte Circeo, 32, 61
Monumbo, 150
Moplah, 107, 109, 115, 134, 138, 201
Mordvin, 111
Morgan, 94, 165, 186
Moon, 87, 223, 230, 243f, 253, 255, 269
Mother-goddess, 86, 258, 272, 273
Mother-right, 106, 107f, 134f, 200f
Mound, 216
Mount Carmel, 33, 83
Mountain Dama, 77, 190
Mousterian, 29, 54, 61
Muduvan, 127, 252
Mukkuvan, 134, 135
Mundas, 54, 55, 56, 122, 149
Mungi, 154
Murmis, 57
Musical bow, 86
Music, 205
Mutation, 15f
Mutuvan, 149
Myth, 226, 254, 270

NAGABANSI-MUNDA, 56
Nagakal, 254
Nagaraja, 254
Nagas, 57, 58, 123, 214, 257f
Nagpanchmi, 264
Nair, 107, 109, 124, 134, 254
Nair Act, 136
Nakikar, 130
Nambudiri, 135
Nandi, 174
Narayan deo, 254, 264
Narbadda Valley, 47
Nasicorn, 81
Nasatyas, 268
Nascapi, 181
Nature mythology, 227f
Natural selection, 13f
Navratri, 264
Nayadi, 128, 253
Nayar, 50
Ndembo, 154
Ndorobbo, 77
Neanderthaler, 22, 30f, 37, 38, 53
Nebeli, 154
Necromancy, 245
Negrillos, 42
Negritos, 42, 52f, 77, 116, 187, 190, 221, 230
Negro, 14, 207, 212, 249

Negroid, 42f
Neo-Darwinists, 13
Neo-Lamarckists, 13f
Neolothic industries, 49
Neoteny, 39
Nether-world, 244, 261
New Guinea, 215
Ngandong, 29, 37, 61
Nias, 118, 214
Nicobarese, 105
Nilotic Negro, 43
Nishadas, 157
Nomadic animal breeders, 110
Nordic race, 45
North-Maidu, 169
Nuer, 90, 178, 181, 250

OATH, 183
Oberkassel, 35
Oceanic Negro group, 44
Od, 236
Ogboni, 153
Ojhas, 55
Ojibwas, 148, 181, 190, 222
Oldoway, 26, 36
Old World Primates, 22
Oligocene, 22
Olmo, 34
Ona, 77, 227
Ondoka, 256
Oppenheimer, F., 165
Oppernoorth, W.F.F., 29
Oraon Mundas, 56, 147, 149, 255
Ordeal, 183
Orenda, 236
Oriopithecus, 22
Ormu, 263
Ornaments, 78, 82
Orthogenesis, 15
Ostyak, 77, 111, 215
Oti cult, 254
Otiose deity, 240, 242, 246, 260, 263
Otto, R., 235
Owl, 121

PACHHAPA, 259
Pacific pygmies, 43
Padaungs, 14
Pahlavas, 52
Paintings, 211f
Palaeontology, 8, 12
Paisacha, 139
Palaeo-Mongoloid group, 46
Palaeoanthropines, 22
Paliyan, 77, 127, 149, 252
Pan-Babylonism, 230
Panchayat, 123, 162
Pangwe, 227
Pankas, 55
Panpipe, 86
Panyan, 52, 77, 253
Papuas, 44
Parama Shiva, 251
Paramatma, 254, 263
Parameshwar, 251, 254, 263
Param Jiu, 254
Paranthropus, 23, 25, 27
Parapithecus, 18
Parayan, 253
Pardhi, 84
P(a)ret, 266
Parjapatya, 139
Parjanya, 268
Pardhans, 55
Parvati, 273
Pashupati, 273
Patent, 196
Pathans, 51
Pathen, 259
Path(i)an, 259
Patriarchal family, 113, 140, 174
Patrilocal, 139
Pei, Dr., 29
Penuti, 222
Perry, W.J., 230
Petershoehle, 61
Phenyl-thio-carbamide, 2, 42
Pheru, 266
Philippine Negritos, 69
Pig, 85, 88
Pindas, 141

Pipal tree, 274
Pirauru marriage, 98
Pisach, 266
Pithecanthropus erectus, 28, 37, 64
Pithecanthropus pekinensis, 28, 37
Plains Indians, 217
Plato, 94
Pleistocene, 22, 37f
Plesianthropus, 23, 26
Plough cultivation, 84
Poison, 81
Pollen grain analysis, 7
Polyandry, 95, 104, 109, 139, 135, 137, 129, 131
Polygyny, 98, 104, 112, 128, 131, 133, 135, 139, 141
Polynesian group, 45, 215
Polysynthetic languages, 70
Polytheism, 220, 229, 239, 246
Pomo, 189, 227
Pongidae, 18, 22
Portmann, A., 20
Positivists, 186
Potowotomi, 222
Potse, 260
Pottery, 78, 87
Potwar, 47
Prajapati, 271
Prana, 236, 271
Pravara, 140
Prayer, 239, 247, 250
Predmost, 35
Prehistory, 1, 6f
Pre-literate people, 6
Premarital sex relations, 97, 103f, 128
Pre-Neanderthal, 30
Preuss, K.T.H., 227, 235
Priest, 248, 254
Primates, 18
Primitive man, 4
Primitive agrarian culture, 83f, 103f
Primitial sacrifice, 192
Primogeniture, 114
Prince Peter of Greece, 59
Prithvi, 268
Prithvi mata, 255, 264
Property, 186f
Proto-Australoids, 44, 54f
Proto-Negritos, 53
Proto-Shiva, 273
Psychoanalysis, 9
Psychology, 9
Pueblo-Indians, 107, 124, 217
Pulayan, 253
Punishment, 183f, 192
Punjab, 51
Punnan, 77
Purrah, 152
Purusha, 270
Pusan, 269
Pycraft, W.P., 32
Pygmies, 42f, 69, 76, 118, 145, 166, 188, 192, 207, 209, 221, 222, 230, 238, 241

QUINZANO, 34
Quistrop, 150

RABHAS, 57, 260
Race, 40, 41
Radio-carbon method, 7
Raglan, Lord, 117
Rajputana, 51
Rakshasa, 139, 266
Rama, 263, 265
Ramananda, 267
Ramanuja, 267
Rasmussen, 193, 222
Ratzenhoer, Fr., 165
Rebirth, 181, 182, 256, 271
Reck, 36
Reddi, 138
Redfield, 4
Reindeer, 81, 88
Reindeer Eskimo, 169
Religion, 218f, 226f, 238f
Religious art, 211
Rengma Naga, 258, 261
Retreat areas, 73

Revelation, 225
Rhinoceros, 81
Ribhus, 269
Rigveda, 228, 270
Rita, 269
Rites de passage, 150
Rivers, W.R.R., 153, 168
Robbery, 202
Robinson, 30
Rock paintings, 214, 216
Romans, 113, 227
Ross, E., 118
Rousseau, J.J., 94, 165

Saccopastore, 31, 61
Sacrifice, 61, 239, 242, 244, 247, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 264, 271
Sago palm, 84
Sakai, 80
Sakas, 52
Sakya, 124
Salish, 77, 171, 188, 190, 192, 193, 222
Sambandham, 135
Samoa, 183
Samoyeds, 61, 77f, 111, 124, 177, 202, 221, 223, 241
Sangiran, 30
Sandawe, 77
Sauk, 222
Santal, 55, 254, 255
Sansi, 84
Sapinda, 140, 161
Sarasvati, 269
Sarkar, S.S., 53, 56
Sarpanch, 162
Sastha, 251, 252
Sati, 139
Satnami, 266
Savara, 130, 255
Schebesta, P., 69
Schepers, 27
Schlesier, E., 153
Schmidt, W., 4, 56, 67, 108, 121, 152, 165, 218, 219, 225
Schoetensack, O., 29
Schurtz, H., 153
Scythian, Art, 213
Secret societies, 110, 153, 245
Selknam, 77, 145, 227
Sema Naga, 258, 261
Semale, 153
Semang, 69, 77, 167, 180, 187, 190 208, 221, 223
Seminoles, 76
Semites, 112
Senoi, 77, 97, 221
Service marriage, 104
Seven Ammas, 253
Seven Sisters, 264
Shakti, 153
Shamans, 125, 154, 157, 175, 209, 223, 236, 244, 248, 249, 254, 257
Shan, 58
Shasti, 265
Sheep, 85, 88
Shifting cultivation, 84, 200, 252
Shilluk, 105, 112, 175
Shiva, 251, 253, 264, 268, 273
Sholaga, 128
Shoshones, 118, 197
Shukbah, 35, 61
Sib, 115f
Siberia, 61
Sieber, S.A., 20
Siecke, E., 228
Sikia, 260
Simo, 154
Simpson, 18
Sinanthropus, 28, 65
Sind, 49
Sing Bonga, 255
Siouan tribes, 147, 170, 177
Sita, 140
Sitala mata, 264
Siyin, 259
Skhul, 37
Slaves, 158, 169, 175
Slavs, 112

Sleb, 77
Smith, W.R., 233
Snakes, 121, 253, 254, 264, 273
Soan Culture, 47
Socialists, 186, 191
Socifacts, 4
Solomon Islands, 151
Solutrian, 64
Soma, 269
Somali, 113, 174, 202
Somatology, 2
Son, 48
Songinyu, 258
Sorcerer, 244, 247
Sororate, 129, 140
Soul, 256, 269
South-Dravida, 55
Soyot, 248
Sparta, 124, 149, 150
Spear, 86
Speiser, 69
Speech, 65
Spencer, H., 230, 233
Spinoza, B., 165
Spirits, 219, 231, 244, 250, 251, 252, 255, 260, 261, 266
Springbock, 36
Sraddha, 141, 269
Sso cult, 227
Star mythology, 128
Staroselje, 31
State, 165f
Steatopygy, 42
Steinheim, 37
Sterkfontain, 26
Stratigraphy, 7
Stucken, E., 230
Suaheli, 106
Subramania, 253
Sudra, 161
Suicide, 180, 244
Sun, 242f, 253, 266
Supreme Being, 167, 177, 180, 182, 194, 219f, 221, 231, 238, 246, 249, 251, 257, 263
Suque, 153
Surya, 268
Surya-Ilura, 251
Susu, 154
Swanscombe, 33f, 37, 38, 48, 65
Swartkrans, 30
Symbols, 66, 229
Syntengs, 107, 136
Syrians, 52

Taboo, 120, 161f
Tabun, 37
Takue, 112
Talikettu Kalayanam, 135
Tamaulipas, 85
Tangkhul, 259, 262
Tangs, 261
Tani, 150
Tangsa, 133, 149, 260, 263
Tao, 236
Tapa, 216, 270
Tapioca, 84
Taravad, 134, 138
Tarasc, 107
Taro, 84
Tatar, 111
Tasmanians, 54, 69, 77, 78, 167
Tatara-Rabuga, 260
Taungs, 25
Taxila, 51
Teeth cusps, 26
Teghami, 261
Teilhard de Chardin, 15
Teknonymy, 117
Telanthropus capensis, 30
Telenget, 125
Teleut, 125
Tent, 90
Tengri, 246
Ternifine, 29
Tessmann, W., 221
Tewa, 107
Thado, 259
Thai, 58
Thakur-deo, 254
Thanta Pulayan, 127

Three-stages hypothesis, 23
Thugs, 154
Tiaba, 257
Tibetans, 57, 181
Tierra del Fuegians, 69, 192, 193, 195, 197, 206, 208, 222, 224, 238
Tika, 105
Timilhour, 258
Tipperas, 57
Tiya, 134, 135
Toala, 77, 79, 98
Tobacco societies, 148
Todas, 59, 214
Tools, 63f
Tore, 100, 145
Torture, 184
Totemism, 101f, 118, 170, 181, 198, 207, 233, 242, 256
Tottiyan, 138
Trade, 83, 106, 195, 202
Tradition, 4
Transformation into insects, 261
Transportation, 79, 83, 87, 91
Trinil, 28
Trois Freres, 62
Trousers, 91
Trumpets, 207
Tuareg, 107, 110, 111, 112
Tungus, 111, 146, 202
Turi, 254
Turk, 202, 247
Tussi, 156
Twa, 156
Tylor, E., 4, 230, 233
Type-fossils, 7

U Blei Nongtháw, 260
U Pyrthat, 260
Ucayali, 221
Uganda, 116, 124, 175
Ulladan, 127, 252
Unilateral kinship, 115f
Untouchability, 51, 159, 163,
Upanishads, 272
Upper Palaeolithic, 64
Ural-Altaics, 234
Urali, 118, 127, 252
Usha, 227, 268
Ut, 266
Uzbekistan, 32

Vach, 269
Vaigai, 48
Vaishya, 161
Valiamma, 254
Vallois, 30, 39
Van Dongen, 221
Vanoverbergh, M., 221
Varna, 140, 157
Varuna, 269
Vastriya, 157
Vayu, 268
Vadaganatha Swami, 252
Vedda, 44, 54, 77, 97, 98, 129, 167, 187, 189, 193, 197
Vedic Aryans, 51, 112, 138f, 268
Vellala, 138
Vendan, 253
Venus of Willendorf, 62
Vettuvan, 253
Victorian tribes, 116
Vierkandt, A., 235
Village communities, 172
Virchow, 32
Vishavan, 252
Vishnu, 263, 269
Vishvakarman, 270
Visit-marriage, 109, 123, 133, 135, 137
Vivaha, 139
Vrata, 269
Vroklage, B., 221

Wadjak, 35
Wagon, 91
Wallace, A.R., 12
Wakenda, 236
Wapulane, 153
War, 167

Warli, 149
Watussi, 92
Weapons, 78, 81, 82, 86, 91
Webster, H., 153
Wedding, 265
Weidenreich, 28, 33, 40
Weinert, 33
West-African Negro, 43
Westermarck, E., 95
Wheel, 91
White Russians, 112
Widow, 141
Wildkirchli, 61
Winnepago, 116, 222
Winkler, H., 230
Wintu, 169
Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi, 77, 180
Witchcraft, 185, 257
Wogul, 77
Wokha, 261
Worunjeri, 190
Women, position of, 92, 102, 113, 139, 141, 173, 199
Wundt, W., 232

X-RAY DRAWINGS, 212, 216
Xylophone, 86, 205

YAK, 88
Yakut, 111, 124, 248
Yam, 84
Yama, 269
Yamaga, 105
Yamana, 77, 145, 166, 169, 207
Yami, 269
Yanadi, 77
Yap Island, 106
Yerukula, 118
Yeruvas, 54
Yogli, 133
Yoni, 273
Yoruba, 116, 153, 213, 245
Youth dormitories, 147, 148f, 172
Yruro, 107
Yugur, 248
Yuin, 77, 208, 223, 238
Yuki, 77, 145, 168, 222

ZAPOTHEC, 107
Zdansky, 28
Zeus, 227
Zoque, 107

State Museum Library
Lucknow

The Author

STEPHEN FUCHS (b. 1908), Ph.D. (Vienna University, Austria), member of the Society of the Divine Word (*SVD*) had studied anthropology under the late P.W. Schmidt, and P.W. Koppers.

Member of the Anthropos Institute at Fribourg (Switzerland), author of *The Children of Hari Social Origins, The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla, Tales of Gondavana,* and a number of papers on Anthropology and Ancient India, Fr. Fuchs has lived in India for a considerable period of time since 1934.

He has made a special study of the tribal ways of life of Balahi, Bhumia and Gond, Korku and Bhil. He taught cultural anthropology at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, during 1950-54, and conducted courses in physical and cultural anthropology in various Catholic seminaries in India.

He was Visiting Professor of Anthropology and Indian Philosophy at the San Carlos University, Cebu City, Philippines in 1961-62.

Fr. Fuchs has returned to Austria in 1962.

The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla

STEPHEN FUCHS

It is a fascinating first-hand account of the Gond and Bhumia tribes of Central India and the impact of civilization on them.

Years of painstaking research has gone into this anthropological study of some of the most interesting tribes of Central India, among whom Father Stephen Fuchs, *SVD,* has lived and worked. The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla have not been unaffected by the non-tribals of the region, and in his careful exposition of their ways of life, their customs, their gods and their religious ceremonies, the author analyzes the impact, for good or ill, of a more modern civilization.

The study contains a wealth of facts which will be invaluable to anthropologists no less than to all interested in India's tribal cultures.

Cultural Anthropology

N.K. BOSE

In this book, the author lays emphasis on the fact that anthropology is not an abstruse science meant for study by a few specialists, but it is a guide which may enable mankind to understand the Law of Social Development.

Having won wide acclaim from anthropologists and the press as being a standard work on anthropology, the book has been extensively revised and enlarged and contains informative matter on the growth of Indian culture, the cultural and social developments of various tribes, communities and races inhabiting the vast sub-continent of India.

An Introduction to Social Anthropology

D.N. MAJUMDAR AND T.N. MADAN

This book is basically an introduction to the tribal cultures of India and as such it will be welcomed by students of anthropology both inside and outside India. An attempt at a systematic correlation of the data dispersed over the growing anthropological literature on India, it contains many valuable chapters and has also a balanced appreciation of the various approaches to the problems of tribal welfare and development.

The merit of the book lies in its being a general introduction not only to social anthropology but also to tribal India.

Asia Publishing House
BOMBAY - CALCUTTA - NEW DELHI - MADRAS
LUCKNOW - LONDON - NEW YORK

HE ORIGIN
OF MAN
AND HIS CULTURE

STEPHEN
FUCHS

1854

ASIA

DEREK PINTO